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# Anglistische Forschungen

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With the author compliments

# A Grammar

of the

# Dialect of Adlington

(Lancashire)

by

Alexander Hargreaves





CAMPBELL

Heidelberg

Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung 1904 Alle Rechte, besonders das Recht der Übersetzung in fremde Sprachen, werden vorbehalten.

# Preface.

The present work is an attempt to construct a dialect grammar on a sound scientific plan. The general scheme of the work is modelled on Professor Wright's Grammar of the Windhill Dialect, but I have treated the subject with Middle English and not Old English as a starting point. In this way I hope greater unity has been secured in tracing the development of the sounds as spoken in the dialect at the present day.

To Professor Schröer of Cöln I am indebted for the idea of writing the grammar, and to Professors Luick of Graz, and Hoops of Heidelberg for many a friendly hint. Prof. Luick especially was always very willing to give me advice and suggestions, and the work owes very much to him. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to all three. I also beg to thank my old friend Mr. Abbott of Adlington for the words of the local ballad John Walker, and Mr. John Heywood of Manchester for permission to print Waugh's Come whoam to thy childer and me in the phonetic notation I have adopted. This latter poem has been chosen in order to afford a ready comparison with Waugh's notation which for philological purposes, and to all but the native, is almost valueless.

Adlington, Lanc. 1903.

A. Hargreaves.

o miach.

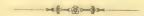
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### Abbreviations.

The following are the principal abbreviations used:

AF. = Anglo-French.

Ags. G. = Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik; dritte Auflage.

Angl. = Anglian.

Björkman = Björkman, Scandinavian Loanwords.

Du. = Dutch.

EDD. = Wright, English Dialect Dictionary.

EEP. = Ellis, Early English Pronunciation.

HES. = Sweet, History of English Sounds.

ME. = Middle English.

MLG. = Middle Low German.

NED. = Murray and Bradley, New English Dictionary.

NEG. = Sweet, New English Grammar.

OE. = Old English.

P. u. B. Beiträge = Paul u. Braune's Beiträge.

Stratmann = Stratmann, Middle English Dictionary.

WS. = West Saxon.

# Misprint.

P. 12, l. 9 fr. bott. read  $\bar{\rho}$  instead of  $\hat{\rho}$ .

## Introduction.

Adlington is a mining and manufacturing village (pop. about 5,000) in the hundred of Leyland. It lies about 3 miles to the South of Chorley, and is thus almost in the middle of the triangle formed by Wigan, Bolton and Chorley.

The dialect spoken in the district is, as will be seen, in some respects rather mixed. This is no doubt due to the growth of the population during the last fifty years, and to the migratory habits of the inhabitants, caused by the industrial nature of their work. But the people do not, as a rule, move far away, nor do the newcomers come from any great distance. Ellis E. E. P. vol 5, p. 329 includes the district in «western North Midland». It is almost exactly in the centre of div. 22, of which Ellis distinguishes six varieties. But none of his varieties corresponds to the Adlington dialect, the nearest thereto being var. 11.

# Phonology.

### Chapter I.

#### Pronunciation.

#### 1. The Vowels.

§ 1. The Adlington dialect contains the following vowels:

Short Vowels: a, ii, e, i, o, u, u, v.

Long Vowels: a, a, e, e, t, o, o, u, J.

Diphthongs: aī, āe, eī, īo, oī, oū, uo, ui, uī.

Triphthongs: aiə.

A brief description of the Adlington vowel system follows. The notation adopted is, in general, that of Sweet's «Primer of Phonetics».

a (mid-back-wide) like the a in German Mann: lad lad, aks ask, lad-der ladder.

 $\bar{a}$  (mid-back-wide) like the  $\bar{a}$  in German Haar:  $t\bar{a}m$  time,  $tf\bar{a}lt$  child,  $w\bar{a}ld$  wild.

 $a\bar{\imath} = a + \bar{\imath}$ . The  $\bar{\imath}$  is high-front-narrow and is long. This diphthong only occurs before f: flash, wa $\bar{\imath}f$  wash.

 $\bar{a}e = \bar{a} + e$ . This diphthong chiefly appears at the end of words. The first part of it is long, the second

very short. There is an escape of breath at the end of words where the  $\bar{a}e$  is final, like a decreasing voiceless h:  $\bar{b}ae$  thigh, risaet recite, skae sky.

ai = a + i + i: airn iron, fair fire.

 $\ddot{u}$  occurs only before r and can be produced by pronouncing  $\partial r$  continuously and meanwhile opening the mouth wide. It can thus be described as between  $\partial r$  and  $\partial r$ . The tip of the tongue is bent backwards and upwards. The  $\partial r$  and the r are united, and here also at the end of a word a slight spirant is perceptible:  $\partial \ddot{u}r$  dare,  $\ddot{w}\ddot{u}rtf$  to ache.

ä is the corresponding long sound: fär far, färm farm, wärm warm.

- e (mid-front-wide). As in English men, help etc.: best best, net net, sel to sell.
- ē (mid-front-narrow). As in German See: nēm name, tēm tame, wēv wave.
- $\bar{e}$  (mid-front-wide) but a little lowered. It is practically the same sound as in English men and German Männer but long:  $b\bar{e}t$  without,  $r\bar{e}nd$  round,  $t\bar{e}n$  town.
- $e\bar{\imath}=e+\bar{\imath}$ . The e is as in men, the  $\bar{\imath}$  is long and very high (high-front-narrow): fe $\bar{\imath}$ t fight, fle $\bar{\imath}$ l flesh, we $\bar{\imath}$ t weight.
- i (high-front-wide) as in English bit: it hit, pin pin, win win.
- ī (high-front-narrow) like the ī in German sie, Biene: krīp creep, nīt night, rīt right.
  - $\bar{\imath}\vartheta = \bar{\imath} + \vartheta$ :  $b\bar{\imath}\vartheta rd$  beard,  $\bar{\imath}\vartheta r$  hear,  $tl\bar{\imath}\vartheta n$  clean.
- o (mid-back-wide-round) like the o in German Stock: frozn frozen, moni many.
- ō (mid-back-narrow-round) like the o in German so: dlōri glory, nō know, rōd road.

\[
 \bar{q}\] (low-back-narrow-round) as in English saw, fall:
 \[
 dr\bar{q}\] draw, n\bar{q}\] gnaw.

 $o\bar{\imath} = o + \bar{\imath}$ . This is not Sweet's oi as in boil, coil. The  $\bar{\imath}$  is long and is high-front-narrow as in German Biene: boil boil, toil toil.

 $o\bar{u} = o + \bar{u}$ . This is a more open sound than Sweet's ou and lies between his ou and his au. The  $\bar{u}$  is long; otherwise the diphthong is very similar to a Swabian's pronunciation of the German word Haus: fout fought, koud cold.

u (high-back-wide-round) like the u in English who:
fut foot, tu too, u who.

u (high-back-narrow-round) like the u in German du: u enough, v repented, f shoe.

Note. These two u' are sometimes pronounced with a mixed sound which is almost like an eu diphthong of which the first part is very short.

u. This is a u sound very much lowered so that it almost resembles an o sound. It is described by Ellis E. E. P. as a transition sound from o to u. It is best described as a mid-back-round sound inclining to mixed, in fact half mixed. The lips are only slightly rounded: but-tor butter, kum come, up up.

u = u + i: duar door, gua go, puar poor.

ui = u + i: Fuin ruin, suit suet.

 $u\bar{\imath} = u + \bar{\imath}$  appears before sibilants: but bush, kut on cushion.

ə (mid-mixed-narrow) as e in German Gabe: gə go, stēfən station, fuər sure, tə to.

After gemination and at the end of a word this a develops a slight spirant: but-tar(h) butter, kop-pa(h) Coppull (a neighbouring village).

is the corresponding long sound: for fair.

#### 2. The Consonants.

§ 2. The Adlington dialect contains the following consonants:

b, d, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, y, p, r, s,  $\int$ , t, t, p, d, v, w, z, z, z.

b (lip-stop-voice) like lit. English b. It occurs initially, medially and finally: brid bird, kubərt cupboard, rub to rub.

d (gum-stop-voice) like the English d. It occurs in all positions: dāv to dive, dlas glass, redi ready, pēnd pound.

d expresses the sound of d before r or when the syllable contains r. The tongue is placed behind the top row of teeth about midway between the English palatal t and the teeth-open p: drav drive, lad-dr ladder. For further remarks see § 75, 3. Note 2.

f (lip-teeth-open-breath) like the lit. English f. It occurs in all positions:  $f\bar{a}v$  five, after after,  $k\bar{q}f$  calf.

g (back-stop-voice) like lit. English g. It occurs in all positions:  $g\bar{q}ml_{\partial S}$  foolish,  $fig_{\partial T}$  figure,  $d_{\partial G}$  dog.

j (front-open-voice) like lit. English y in you. It occurs a) initially: jalə yellow, jed head, b) as a glide sound combined with vowels, before and after gutturals and palatals: kjap cap, kjatf catch, kjetl kettle, kjär cower, gjam fun, əgjen again, bajg bag, bejg beg, bajk back. It is, however, not always pronounced and one can say for instance, either giv, əgen or gjiv, əgjen. It seems to be most consistently pronounced after k and before a.

k (back-stop breath) like lit. English k. It occurs in all positions: koud cold, bake tobacco, truk truck.

*l* (gum-side-voice) resembling a German *l* more than an English one and without any previous glide. It occurs in all positions but is syllabic only in unaccented syllables: *liv* to live, *bild* to build, *wīl* (adv.) well.

Examples of vocalie *l* are: *adl* to earn, *fetl* to mend. *m* (lip-nasal-voice) like lit. English *m*. It occurs in all positions: *mon* man, *trembl* tremble, *tām* time.

n (gum-nasal-voice) like lit. English n. It occurs as a consonant in all positions and as a vowel in unaccented syllables: nīt night, windər wonder, kumin coming.

Examples of vocalic n are: frozn frozen, ritn written.

- y (back-nasal-voice) like n in lit. English sing: bring bring, fink think.
- p (lip-stop-breath) like lit. English p. It occurs initially, medially and finally:  $pr\bar{e}d$  proud, supar supper, elp help.
- r (gum-open-voice). The tip of the tongue is pressed upwards and backwards close to the hard palate. This r is not trilled and occurs in all positions. It is equivalent to the lit. English r between vowels: rett/ to reach, rung wrong, broat brought, bare barrow, river river.
- s (blade-open-breath) like the s in lit. English sit. It occurs in all positions: sârv serve, prost thrush, ēs bouse.
- f (blade-point-open-breath) like lit. English sh in shall. It occurs in all positions: fep shape, fafon fashion, wasf to wash.
- t (gum-stop-breath) like lit. English t. It occurs in all positions: tām time, botl bottle, rat rat.
- t is the corresponding hard sound to d (see above and § 74): trāb tribe, trā true, wētər water.
- b (teeth-open breath) like the th in lit. English thin. It occurs in all positions and may often replace and be replaced by t: bout thought, kwarper or kwarter quarter, due death.
  - đ (teeth-open-voice) like the th in lit. English then.

It occurs in all positions and often replaces and is replaced by d: dis this, wunder wonder (or wunder), smud smooth.

- v (lip-teeth-open-voice) like the v in lit. English vane. It occurs in all positions:  $vo\bar{\imath}s$  voice, navi navvy,  $ne\bar{\imath}v$  fist.
- w (lip-back-open-voice) like lit. English w in wet. It occurs initially and medially:  $w\bar{a}rm$  warm, wen when,  $\partial w\bar{e}$  away.
- z (blade-open-voice) like lit. English z in freeze. It is rare initially, commoner medially and finally: ziyk zinc, buzərt butterfly, uz us.
- z is a sound which begins like z but dies away to a hard s. It occurs chiefly at the end of words after soft consonants, and in unaccented words and syllables: ladz lads,  $r\bar{o}dz$  roads,  $\partial z$  us (unaccented).
- g (blade-point-open-voice) like the s in lit. English pleasure. It chiefly occurs after d and n: dgudg judge, megər measure, sing to singe.

## Chapter II.

# The Adlington vowels in accented syllables, and their sources.

#### 1. Short Vowels.

a.

- § 3. 1. Adlington a in most cases corresponds to ME. a (§ 30. 1).
- a) OE. x (a) in originally closed syllables: ap-pə apple, patf thatch, watf watch,  $\partial ad$  that,  $\partial tas$  glass. North. x = WS. y, e: bali belly (see NED.).

- b) Rarely OE. a (æ) in originally open syllables: gam game, adlt addled, faðər father, watər water.
  - c) OE. ā: aks ask.
  - d) OE. æ: bad bad, lad-dər ladder.
  - e) OE. ēa: laðər lather (loðər is also used), tſap chap.
  - f) OE. eo: jale yellow.
- g) AF. a in open syllables (§ 50): bann banner, kari carry, batl battle, t/apl chapel.
- h) AF. a in closed syllables: ant aunt, paster pasture, lamp lamp.
  - i) AF. al, au in savidz savage (§ 59. 4).
  - 2. Adlington a corresponds to ME. e.
  - OE. e (§ 31. 5): bant vigour, natlt cross, illtempered.
  - 3. Adlington a corresponds to ME. u.
  - OE. u (§ 34. 6): radl ruddle.
  - 4. Adlington a corresponds to ME. a.
  - OE. a (§ 35. 5): swad pod (of peas).
- 5. Addington a corresponds to AF. ei (§ 58.6.): plat plait, for which Shakespeare has also plat, see Schmidt Shakesp. Lex. II 870.

ä.

- § 4. 1. Addington  $\ddot{a}$  corresponds chiefly to ME. e+r. Here are included also those words which are usually found with ME. i because they must evidently have developed first to ME. e and then to Adlington  $\ddot{a}$ . See § 31. 2.
  - a) OE. e, eo before r: färi ferry, bäri berry, wärk work.
  - b) OE. ā, ē: ärin herring, ärənd errand.
  - c) OE. i: bärts birch.
  - d) OE. y before r: bäri bury, märi merry, wäri worry.
  - e) AF. e before r + cons. (§ 51. 2): pärt/ perch.
  - f) AF. i before  $r \in \S 53.5$ : märikl miracle (also mərikl).

2. Adlington  $\ddot{a}$  corresponds rarely to ME. a+r final and before vowels = OE. a, ea, a (§ 30. 2c):  $d\ddot{a}r$  dare,  $b\ddot{a}r$  barrow,  $m\ddot{a}r$  marrow,  $n\ddot{a}r$  narrow.

Note. We have, however, more often baro, maro, naro.

e.

- § 5. 1. Adlington e in most cases corresponds to ME. e (§ 31, 1).
- a) OE. e, eo, Scand. e in closed syllables: edz hedge, elp help, melt melt, sel shell, weft weft.
- b) Rarely OE. e (eo) in open syllables: evn heaven, peni penny.
  - c) OE. ēo: brest breast, devl devil, frend friend.
- d) OE.  $\bar{x}$ ,  $\bar{e}$  < Germanic ai and  $\bar{x}$ : bled-dər bladder, elp health, les less, ment meant.
  - e) OE. ë, æ: bled bled, kept kept, met met.
- f) OE. a, æ: ed-dər dragon-fly, es ashes, geðər gather, wen when, weðer whether.
  - g) AF. ē (§ 51. 1): tent tent, vesil or vesl vessel.
  - h) AF. e (§ 52. 3): selər cellar, trezər treasure.
  - 2. Adlington e corresponds to ME. ē (§ 37. 3).
  - a) OE. ā: redi ready, spred spread.
  - b) OE. ēa: bred bread, led lead, red red.
- 3. Addington e probably corresponds to ME.  $\bar{a}$  = OE. a in blegbri blackberry, where the e seems to be due to shortening of the plural form  $bl\bar{e}gbriz$  = ME.  $bl\bar{a}ke$ -beries, OE. blaceberian.
- 4. Addington e corresponds to AF. i (§ 53. 6): rens to rince.

i.

§ 6. 1. Addington i corresponds in most cases to ME. i (§ 32. 1).

- a) OE. i: bitn bitten, lid lid, wik alive.
- b) rarely OE. e: grin grin, rid rid.
- c) OE. y: bridz bridge, king king, pin thin.
- d) OE. v: fift fifth, wimin women.
- e) Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{x}$ : ridl riddle, sili silly. See Morsbach MEG. p. 144.
  - f) OE.  $\bar{y}$ : drip drip, tin to shut, close.
- g) AF. i in closed syllables (§ 53. 3): ritf rich, simple.
  - h) AF. i in open syllables: piti pity, finif finish.
- 2. Adlington i corresponds to ME. e, late ME. i (§ 31. 4).
- a) OE. e: siyā singe, striyg string (streyg is more common), fidər feather.

Note. The last word has been confounded with its derivative fidere wing, in ME. See Morsbach MEG. p. 144.

- b) ON. e: skip basket, snifter to sniff.
- 3. Addington i corresponds to ME.  $\bar{\imath}$  (§ 39.4). OE.  $\bar{y}$ : id to hide.
- 4. Adlington i corresponds to ME. ē (§ 36. 2).
- a) Angl. ē, WS. ēa: rik rick (cp. Kluge-Lutz sv. rick; according to Skeat Conc. Et. Dict., New Edition, NE. rick comes from OE. -hrycce in corn-hrycce).
  - b) OE. ēo: bin been, sik sick.

0.

- § 7. 1. Addington o generally corresponds to ME. o (§ 33. 1).
- a) OE. o, Scand. o in closed syllables: frost frost, kotl cockle, stop stop, tlod to throw.
- b) OE. o in open syllables: bodi body, frozn frozen, spokn spoken.

- c) OE. a, o before nasals: kom komb, kon can, jon yonder, moni many.
  - d) OE. ō: blosəm blossom, fodər fodder, soft soft.
- e) OE. e, North. o: fot for to fetch. Cp. Sievers Ags. Gr. 3 416 anm. 15 b. Bülbring E. Stud. 27,73 foll. Mätzner ME. Wörterb. II 85.
  - f) AF. o (§ 54. 2): promis promise, rob rob.
  - 2. Adlington o corresponds to ME. a.
  - a) OE. & after w (§ 30. 4): wod what.
  - b) AF. a before l + cons. (§ 50. 5): oltar altar.
  - 3. Adlington o corresponds to ME. o.
  - OE. ā (§ 41. 4): olidi holiday.
- 4. Adlington o corresponds to ME. u before r (§ 34. 2).
- a) OE. u: dor door (duar is also used), for further, kos to curse (kus is more common).
  - b) OE. y, i: tfortf church.
  - c) AF. ü (§ 56. 3): ort to hurt.

26.

- § 8. 1. Adlington u is a somewhat rare sound, corresponding generally to ME. \(\bar{\rho}\), OE. \(\bar{\rho}\) (\(\xi\) 40. 4): but boot, du do, sut soot, tu too.
  - 2. Adlington u corresponds to ME. u [ü].
  - a) AF: u (§ 55. 5): put pullet.
  - b) AF. ü (§ 56.4): flut flute, jus use (sb.).
  - c) AF. üi (§ 57. 1): frut fruit.
  - d) AF. eu: dzuti duty.

Note. The word duty does not occur in AF, but it has been formed from AF. due.

- 3. Adlington u corresponds to ME. eu.
- a) AF. eau: bjuti beauty.

Note. The pronunciation of nearly all these words varies between u and  $\bar{u}$ .

u.

- § 9. 1. Addington u corresponds generally to ME. u (§ 34. 1).
- a) OE. u in closed syllables: bul bull, drunk drunk, kup cup, undord hundred.
- b) OE. u in open syllables: kud cud, sumar summer, uni honey.
  - c) OE. y: bundl bundle, kruts crutch, sut shut.
    - d) OE. a: dust dust, uzbund husband.
    - e) OE. i (u) after w: wus worse, wust worst.
    - f) OE. eo after w: wup worth.
    - g) AF. u (§ 55. 1): kuntri country.
    - h) AF. ü (§ 56. 1): dzudz judge, dzust just.
    - 2. Adlington u corresponds to ME o (§ 33.4).
- OE. o: tluk cluck, pung thong. dug dog and tlug clog also occur but these words are usually pronounced dog and tlog.
  - 3. Adlington u corresponds to ME. i (§ 32.3).
  - a) OE, y: fust first, futl shuttle.
  - b) OE. 7 after w: wumun woman.
  - 4. Adlington u corresponds to ME. φ (§ 40. 2).
  - OE. o: munp month, muder mother, (t)tuder the other.
  - 5. Adlington u corresponds to ME. a.
  - a) OE. ū (§ 42. 2): duk duck, plum plum.
- b) older ough = OE. oh, og and outher of the above that <math>outher ough and outher outher ough and outher outher ough and outher ough and outher ough and outher outhero

2.

§ 10. 1. Addington a corresponds chiefly to ME. i (§ 32.4).

- a) OE. i: or her.
- b) OE. ī: stərəp stirrup (also stärəp).
- c) AF. i (§ 35.5): mərikl miracle (also märikl), spərit spirit.
  - 2. Adlington a corresponds to ME. u (§ 34.4).
  - a) OE. u: terf turf (torf is more common), fere furrow.
  - b) OE. eo (u) after w: warsip worship.
  - 3. Adlington a corresponds to ME. a (§ 30.9).
  - OE. æ: war was (wor is more common).
  - 4. Adlington a corresponds to ME. ē (§ 36. 6). OE. ē: jar year.

### 2. Long Vowels.

 $\bar{a}$ .

- § 11. 1. Adlington  $\bar{a}$  corresponds almost everywhere to ME.  $\bar{\imath}$  (§ 39. 1).
  - a) OE. i: ālənd island, fāv five, tām time, wāf wife.
- b) OE. i before ld, nd, mb: bland blind, fand find, tlam climb, tfalt child, wald wild.
  - c) OE. i + g: nān nine.
  - d) OE. ȳ: āv hive, lās lice, mās mice.
- e) AF. i (§ 53. 1): bābl bible, fān fine, nās nice, tās entice.
  - f) AF.  $i + \tilde{n}$  (lat. ign):  $riz\bar{a}n$  resign,  $s\bar{a}n$  sign.
- 2. Addington  $\bar{a}$  is of uncertain origin in  $t\bar{a}p$ - $\bar{o}r$  to tip over = to swoon.

Note. The etymology of  $t\bar{a}t$  tight is somewhat doubtful. It is supposed by Pogatscher Eng. Studien 27, 271 ff. and Much P. B. Beiträge 17, 145 to be from a Germanic \*tenhtaz and related to OE.  $t\bar{o}h$ , getenge. Kluge, Etymological Dictionary, and Kluge-Lutz, Engl. Et. 212, had assumed it to be from Scand  $p\bar{e}ttr$  but the development of p to t is irregular.

#### ä.

- § 12.  $\tilde{a}$  is a vowel, which, like  $\tilde{a}$ , only appears before r.
- 1. Addington  $\tilde{a}$  corresponds generally to ME. e before  $r + \cos$ . For the development, see § 31. 2.
- a) OE. e, eo: ärt heart, bärm barm, därk dark, lärn learn.
  - b) OE. i: pård third, warl whirl (Seand. hvirfla).
  - c) OE. ēo: dårlin darling, fårðin farthing.
  - d) AF. e (§ 51.2): årb herb, nårv nerve, sårmen sermon.
- 2. Addington  $\tilde{a}$  corresponds to ME. a before  $r + \cos$ . (§ 30. 2).
- a) OE. a, æ, ea: ård hard, kårt cart (or from Scand. kartr?), pårk park.
  - b) OE. ā: lārk lark.
  - c) AF. a (§ 50.3): bårber barber, kvårt quart, pårt part.
  - 3. Adlington à corresponds to ME. a.
  - a) OE. a before r (§ 42.4): sår sour, får shower.
- b) AF. u before r (§ 55.3): dr hour, fdr flower, flour, tdr tower.

#### E.

- § 13. 1. Adlington ē corresponds generally to ME. ā (§ 35. 1).
- a) OE. a, æ in open syllables: bēð bathe, bi-ēv to behave, blēz blaze, skēl scale, wēv to wave.
- b) AF. a in open syllables (§ 50. 2): bēkn bacon, plēt plate, tēbl table.
  - c) AF. a in closed syllables: kēs case, wēst waste.
  - 2. Adlington ē corresponds to ME. ai (§ 43.1).
  - a) OE. æg: dē day, fēn fain, tēl tail.
  - b) OE. eg: ēl ail, rēn rain.

- c) WS. \(\bar{x}\), Angl. \(\bar{e}\): gr\(\bar{e}\) gray, j\(\bar{e}\) yea.
- d) OE.  $\bar{x}$  (i-umlaut of  $\bar{a}$ ):  $tl\bar{e}$  clay.
- e) OE. ēg, ēh (ēah): ē hay, nēbər neighbour.
- f) Scand. ei: bet bait, fek fake, trick, wek weak (but see Björkman Scand. Loanwords in ME. p. 52, n. 3).
  - g) AF. ai, ei (§ 58. 1): fēl fail, grēn grain, plēn plain.
  - 3. Adlington ē corresponds to ME. a (§ 30.7).

OE. ea:  $\bar{e}f$  half (also  $\bar{o}f$ ).

4. Adlington ē corresponds to ME. ē (§ 36. 5).

OE. ēo: wēkin wick.

5. Adlington e corresponds to ME. e (§ 37.4). OE. æ: sē sea.

 $\bar{e}$  .

- § 14. 1. Adlington ē corresponds generally to ME. a (§ 42.1).
  - a) OE. a: ē how, ēt out, tlēt clout, pēnd pound.
- b) AF. u (§ 55. 2): dēt doubt, əmēnt amount, krēn crown, rēnd round.

Note 1. Adl. meðart mole (beside which also moudiwarp occurs) seems to stand for \*mūdrat mouth-rat, a folk-etymological interpretation of \*mold-rat. See the form moudie-rat mole in Wright, Engl. Dial. Dict. sv. Moudie.

Note 2. Adl. pēk pustule points to an unrecorded ME. poūk, pūk, not to ME. pocke. Cp. pouk in Wright, Engl. Dial. Dict.

2. Adlington ē corresponds to ME. ai.

AF. ai (§ 58.7): mester master (also mesper).

- § 15. 1. Adlington & corresponds chiefly to ME. ē (§ 36. 1).
  - a) OE. ė for ĕ in monosyllables: ī he, mī me, ðī thee.
- b) OE. ē for ĕ before lengthening groups: fild field, fild shield. - Also in wil well (adv.).

- c) Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{x}$  (Teutonic  $\bar{x}$ ):  $\bar{\imath}l$  eel,  $\bar{\imath}vnin$  evening,  $n\bar{\imath}dl$  needle,  $s\bar{\imath}d$  seed.
- d) Angl.  $\bar{e}$  (Umlaut of  $\bar{e}a$ ): biliv believe, nid need, stipl steeple.
- e) Angl.  $\bar{e}$  for  $\bar{e}a$  and  $\bar{e}o$  before gutturals:  $b\bar{\imath}kn$  beacon,  $dr\bar{\imath}$  tiresome.
- f) Angl.  $\bar{e}$  (Umlaut of  $\bar{o}$ ):  $b\bar{\imath}tl$  beetle (hammer),  $f\bar{\imath}td$  feed,  $gr\bar{\imath}n$  green.
  - g) OE. ēo: dīp deep, frī free, līf lief, nī knee.
  - h) OE. y: wel evil.
  - i) AF. e (§ 52. 1): mist/īf mischief, pīs piece.
  - 2. Adlington t corresponds to ME. i (§ 32.2).
  - a) OE. i before sibilants: dif dish, fif fish.
  - b) OE. i before ht: brit bright, nit night, sit sight.
  - 3. Adlington i corresponds to ME. i (§ 39.6). OE. -ig-: stil stile.
- 4. Adlington  $\bar{\imath}$  corresponds to ME.  $\bar{e} = \text{OE}$ . e in open syllable before s (§ 38. 3):  $b\bar{\imath}z\bar{\imath}m$  besom,  $w\bar{\imath}z\bar{\imath}$  weasel.
  - 5. Adlington v corresponds to ME. ē before s:

AF. e < ai (§ 58.3): pis peace.

6. Adlington 7 corresponds to ME. ei.

OE.  $\bar{e} + g$  (§ 45. 2): brīd frightened.

ō.

- § 16. 1. Addington  $\tilde{o}$  corresponds principally to ME.  $\tilde{o}$  (§ 41. 1).
  - a) OE. o: flot float, jok yoke (OE. geocu), op hope.
- b) OE.  $\bar{a}$ :  $b\bar{o}t$  boat (rarer  $bu\bar{o}t$ ),  $l\bar{o}f$  loaf (rarer  $lu\bar{o}f$ ),  $\bar{o}k$  oak,  $w\bar{o}l$  whole.
  - c) OE. ēo: loz lose, tfok choke.
- d) AF.  $\varrho$  (§ 54. 1): dlöri glory, störi story, tlök cloak, trön throne.

- 2. Adlington ō corresponds to ME. a.
- a) OE. a,  $\alpha$ , ea before l (§ 30. 3):  $f\bar{o}$  fall,  $k\bar{o}$  kall,  $\bar{o}$  all,  $w\bar{o}$  wall.

Note. These words are sometimes pronounced  $\bar{\varrho}$ .

- b) AF. a (§ 50.4):  $b\bar{o}$  ball (more rarely  $b\bar{\varrho}$ ).
- 3. Adlington ō corresponds to ME. ou (§ 49. 1).
- a) OE.  $\bar{a} + w$ : blo blow, mo mow, sno snow.
- b) OE.  $\bar{o} + w$ :  $gr\bar{o}$  grow,  $r\bar{o}$  to row.
- 4. Adlington ō corresponds to ME. o.
- a) OE. eo + l (33. 6):  $j\bar{o}k$  yolk.
- b) AF. o before r (§ 54. 3):  $f\bar{o}rd\bar{g}$  forge,  $f\bar{o}rs$  force,  $p\bar{o}rtf$  porch.

#### $\bar{Q}$ .

- § 17. 1. Adlington \(\rho\) corresponds chiefly to ME. o (§ 33. 2).
- a) OE. o before r + cons.:  $n\bar{\varrho}r\bar{p}$  north,  $\bar{\varrho}s$  horse,  $w\bar{\varrho}rd$  word.
- b) OE. eo after w: wõrld world, sõrd sword, wõrm worm (OE. weorm).
- c) AF. o before  $r + \cos$ . (§ 54. 3.4):  $f\bar{q}rfit$  forfeit,  $f\bar{q}rtf$  fortune,  $k\bar{q}rd$  cord,  $m\bar{q}rsl$  morsel, order order.
  - 2. Adlington ē corresponds to ME. a before l.
- a) OE. a,  $\alpha$ , ea followed by lf, lk, ls, lt (§ 30. 3b):  $k\bar{\varrho}f$  calf,  $\bar{\varrho}f$  half ( $\bar{\varrho}f$  is more used),  $s\bar{\varrho}t$  salt.
  - b) AF. a before l (§ 50.4): b\(\bar{q}\) ball (also b\(\bar{o}\)), f\(\bar{q}\)s false.
  - 3. Adlington \(\rho\) corresponds to ME. au (\(\xi\) 44).
  - a) OE. a + g, f, w:  $dr\bar{q}$  draw,  $\bar{q}k$  hawk,  $tl\bar{q}$  claw.
  - b) Scand. au: gom heed, gomlos heedless.
  - c) AF. au (§ 59. 1): kǫsə causeway.

u.

§ 18. 1. Addington  $\bar{u}$  corresponds chiefly to ME.  $\bar{\rho}$  (§ 40. 1).

- a) OE. ō: kūk cook, rūst roost, stū(l) stool, tūl tool.
- b) OE.  $\bar{o} + \bar{g}$ :  $b\bar{u}$  bough,  $\partial n\bar{u}$  enough,  $pl\bar{u}$  plough.
- c) AF.  $\rho$  (§ 54. 6): fu fool.
- 2. Adlington a corresponds to ME. q.
- a) OE. a: đượ those (§ 41. 6).
- b) OE.  $\bar{a} > ME$ .  $\bar{\varrho} > ME$ .  $\bar{\varrho}$ :  $t\bar{u}$  two (§ 40. 1 b).
- 3. Adlington ū (jū) corresponds to ME. u [ü].
- a) AF ü (§ 56. 2): jūz to use, dlū glue, rūd rude.
- b) AF. üi (§ 57. 1): pjū pew, frut fruit.
- c) OE. u (§ 34.3): kåtar coulter, på pull, þrá through.
- 4. Adlington a (ja) corresponds to ME. eu.
- a) OE. čow (§ 57. 1): njū new, brū brew, rū rue, tſū chew.
  - b) OE. i + w (§ 57. 2):  $t \int uz di$  Tuesday.
  - 5. Adlington  $\tilde{u}$  ( $j\tilde{u}$ ) corresponds to ME. eu (§ 46). OE. ea + w:  $fj\tilde{u}$  few,  $dz\tilde{u}$  dew.

ð.

- § 19. Addington  $\bar{s}$  is a somewhat rare sound; it appears only before r.
- 1. It corresponds to ME.  $\bar{a} = OE$ . a, x, ea before r (§ 35. 2):  $b\bar{s}r$  bare,  $\bar{s}r$  hare,  $kj\bar{s}r$  care,  $st\bar{s}r$  stare.
- 2. Addington  $\bar{s}$  corresponds to ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ . e before r, in open syllables (§ 37. 5):  $b\bar{s}r$  bear,  $sw\bar{s}r$  swear.
- 3. Adlington 5 corresponds to ME. ē = OE. ea (§ 31.2c): f5rn fern.
- Adlington ō corresponds to ME. ē = OE. ē,
   ā (§ 36. 6): jōr year, ōr hair.
  - 5. Adlington & corresponds to ME. ai.
  - a) OE. æg, æg (§ 43. 2): för fair, stör stair.
  - b) Scand. ei: ðər their.
- c) AF. ai, ei (§ 58. 5): ər air, fər fair (sb.), mər mayor, prər prayer.

6. Adlington  $\tilde{\sigma}$  corresponds to ME.  $\tilde{u} = AF$ . u(§ 55.4): distorb disturb, dzorni journey.

Note. Adlington 5 corresponds in the negations d5rnd do not, and will not to ME.  $\bar{o}=$  OE.  $\bar{o}$  and ME. i= OE. i respectively.

### 3. Diphthongs.

- § 20. Adlington ae corresponds to ME. 7 (§ 39, 2).
- a) OE. and Scand. ī, ÿ: lāek like, pāek pick (ME. \*pīken, see § 32. 1 b), strāek strike, pāe thigh, wāe why.
  - b) OE.  $\bar{e}a > ME$ .  $ei > \bar{\imath}$ :  $\bar{a}e$  eye (pl.  $\bar{\imath}n$ ).
  - c) OE. y + g: bae buy.
- d) AF. i (§ 53. 2): krāe cry, risāet recite, tāegər tiger, tlāemət climate.

 $a\bar{\imath}.$ 

- § 21. Adlington at always corresponds to ME. a before š.
- a) OE. and Scand. a, & (§ 30.5): paif a great quantity (ME. paschen), raīf rash, smaīf smash, waīf wash.
  - b) AF. a (§ 50.6): faīf to anger.

- § 22. 1. Adlington et corresponds to ME. ê. OE. e (§ 38. 1): meīl meal, speīk speak, weīv weave, eīv heave.
  - 2. Adlington et corresponds to ME. et (§ 45. 1).
- a) OE. and Scand. ea, e, & before ht: eit eight, streit straight, west weight.
  - b) OE. eo before ht: feīt fight (§ 32. 2 b).

- c) OE.  $\tilde{x} + g$ : ket key.
- d) OE.  $\bar{e} + h$ :  $e\bar{i}t$  height.
- e) OE.  $\bar{e}a$ , late OE.  $\bar{e} + h$ :  $e\bar{\iota}$  high.
- f) AF. ei (§ 58.4): dein dean.
- 3. Adlington et corresponds to ME. e (§ 31. 3).
- a) OE. e: neif soft, tender.
- b) OE. \(\bar{a}\): flesh.
- 4. Adlington et corresponds to ME. ē (§ 37. 6).
- a) OE. ēa: fleip fleas (pl. only), grett great.
- b) OE. ā: bleīts bleach.
- c) AF. e (§ 51. 3): prest/ preach.

W.

- § 23. 1. Adlington is corresponds generally to ME.  $\bar{e}$  (§ 37. 1):
- a) OE.  $\bar{x}$  (i-umlaut of  $\bar{a}$ ):  $d\bar{z}$  deal,  $l\bar{z}$  lean,  $m\bar{z}$  mean,  $tl\bar{z}$  clean.
  - b) OE. ēa: disp death, nier near.
  - c) OE. e in open syllable: spiər spear.
  - d) OE. ea (late OE. ea): biord beard.
  - e) AF. ē (§ 51.4): bīəs beasts.
  - f) AF. ai, ei, later ē (§ 58. 2): vəzi easy, plīsz please.
- 2. Adlington & corresponds to ME. & before r (§ 36.3).
  - a) Angl. ē, WS. ā: biər bier, điər there, wiər where.
  - b) Angl. ē, WS. ie: wr to hear, stwr steer.
  - c) OE. ē, ēo: vər here, bvər beer.
  - d) AF. e before r (§ 52. 2): pier pier, thier clear.
  - 3. Adlington is corresponds to ME. ê.
  - OE. io > eo (§ 38.4): rīp reap.
- 4. Adlington to corresponds to ME. a (§ 35. 4). tomz hames (cf. Du. haam).

Oī.

§ 24. 1. Adlington of corresponds to ME.  $\bar{Q}$  (§ 41. 7).

OE. o: koīl coal, oīl hole, loīz lose (OE. losian?).

Note. In all the above mentioned words the pron, with  $\tilde{o}$  is more usual.

2. Adlington of corresponds to ME. 7.

OE. \$\bar{y}\$ (\xi 39. 5): both boil (subst.).

- 3. Adlington of corresponds to ME. oi.
- a) AF. oi (§ 60. 1): boīl boil, dzoīnt joint, noīz noise, soīl soil, spoīl spoil.
  - b) AF. üi (§ 57. 2): oil oil, oister oyster.
  - 4. Adlington of corresponds to ME. 7.
  - OF. i (§ 53: 7): dzoīs or dzoīsiz joists.

oū.

- § 25. 1. Adlington on corresponds to ME. on chiefly before ht (§ 49. 2).
  - a) OE. o < ō: broūt brought, poūt thought.
  - b) OE. o: douter daughter, fout fought.
- c) OE. og final and before -en: floun flown, trough (also trof).
  - d) OE. ā: noūt naught, soūl soul.
  - e) OE. u:  $\int o\bar{u}(d)d\partial r$  shoulder.
  - 2. Adlington où corresponds to ME. \(\bar{\rho}\) (\(\xi\) 41. 3).
  - a) OE. o: goad gold (rarely gald).
- b) OE. (Angl.) a, later ā before ld: boūd bold, koūd cold, oūd old, toūd told.
  - 3. Adlington oū corresponds to ME. ū before l. OE. -ug- (§ 42. 7): foūl fowl.
  - 4. Adlington on corresponds to ME. o.
- a) OE. ol + cons. (§ 33. 3): boūstər bolster, koūt colt, toū toll.

- b) AF. o (§ 54.5): roul roll, sou(d)-dzor soldier.
- 5) Adlington on corresponds to AF. u (§ 55.6): bon to bowl, poultri poultry.
- 6. Adlington on corresponds to AF. oi, ui (§ 60. 3): kon to scrape together (Fr. cueillir).

#### uð.

- § 26. 1. Adlington us corresponds to ME. § (§ 41. 2).
- a) OE. o: əfuər before, nuəz nose (nōz is more used), skuər score.
- b) OE. ā: buəþ both, guə go, muər more, muəst most (also muist), uəs hoarse.
  - c) OE. ēo (o?): luoz lose (lōz and loīz are more used).
- d) AF.  $\varrho$  (§ 54.7): kuət coat, puərk pork (more usually  $p\bar{\varrho}rk$ ).
  - 2. Adlington us corresponds to ME. o (§ 40.3).
- a) OE. o: bustd board, sfustd afford. (The ME. vowel is usually given as o, but would appear to have been  $\sigma$  in the dialect.)
  - b) OE. ō: fluər floor, muər moor, uər whore.
  - 3. Adlington us corresponds to ME. u, before r.
  - a) OE. u (§ 34. 2): duər door.
  - b) AF. u (§ 55. 4): kuərt court.

#### ui.

- § 27. 1. Addington ui corresponds to ME.  $\ddot{u}$  = AF.  $\ddot{u}$  (§ 56. 5): kruil cruel.
- 2. Addington ui corresponds to AF. oi, ui (§ 60.4): ruin ruin, suit suet.

uī.

- § 28. Adlington  $u\bar{\imath}$  always corresponds to ME. u before f.
  - a) OE. u, y (§ 34. 1 c. note): blusf blush, ruif rush.
  - b) OE. a (§ 34. 1 d): tuīf tusk.
  - e) AF. o (§ 54.8): brutf brush.
  - d) AF. oi, ui (§ 60. 2): buīst bushel, kuīsan cushion.

# 4. Triphthongs.

ais.

- § 29. 1. Adlington ais almost always corresponds to ME. 7 (§ 39. 3).
  - a) OE. ī before r: aiərn iron, spaiər spire, waiər wire.
  - b) OE.  $\bar{y}$  before r: aiər hire, faiər fire.
  - c) AF. i (§ 53. 4): laien lion, raiet riot.
  - 2. Adlington ais corresponds to ME. ē.

AF. e (§ 52. 2): kwaiər quire, umpaiər umpire.

# Chapter III.

# The Vowels of Accented Syllables treated historically.

# A. The English Element.

## 1. Short Vowels.

ME: a.

§ 30. 1. ME. a. appears in the Adl. dialect as a. This a is the ME. a and not a new a arising out of any development of ME. a. This may be at once seen on comparing groups of Mod. E. words with the corresponding words of the dialect. For instance Mod. E. hand, glass

and swan are each represented in the dialect by the same sound as in ME., namely a. The development of these words in Mod. E. has been as follows:

hand, ME. 
$$a > x$$
.

glass »  $a > x > \bar{x} > \bar{a}$ .

swan »  $a > o$ .

Now as the dialect has in each case the same vowel as in ME. we must assume that it has remained at the ME. standpoint, and has never made any of the developments at all which have given us the present Mod. E. sounds. Otherwise we should have to assume some such sound changes as these

ME. 
$$a \stackrel{\nearrow}{\underbrace{\bar{x}}} dial. a.$$

which would, to say the least, be very improbable.

a) ME. a = OE. a,  $\alpha$ , ea, Scand. a in closed syllables and unknown sources: adl to earn, after after, aks axe (also ajks), aksl axel, am ham, and hand (rarely ond), andom anthem, and hang, ank hank, ankor anchor, ankle (also antl), are arrow, as ass, ask hard, dry, asp hasp, at hat, anvil anvil, bad bad, bag bag (also bajg), bak back (also bajk), band band, bard barrow, bap bath, blak black (also blajk), bras brass, brast burst (from the preterite form), brat apron (Keltic), daft silly, simple, dlad glad, dlas glass, dad that, fan fan, fast fast, flat flat, gab impudence, gad to loiter, idle, galosiz braces, fun, kam to tread shoes out of shape (Welsh), kan can (also kjan), kant eager, merry (W. Du. kant), kap cap (also kjap), kasl castle, kapker to rust, krab crab, kram cram, krapk crank, lad lad, lam lamb, land land, lap lap (subs.), las lass, last last, lat lath, mas mass, mast mast, nare narrow, rafter rafter, rag rag (oftener rajg), sad sad, sakles silly, simple (OE. sacleas), sand sand, skab scab (also skjab), skrambl to scramble, skrat scratch, spare sparrow, staf staff, stamp stamp, swale swallow, swan swan, swap to exchange, tale tallow, tan tan, tap tap, tlam to starve, famish (also tlem), tlap clap, tlat to inform, relate, trap trap, tfaf chaff, tfat small potato, patf thatch, waks wax (also wajks), want to want, wander wander, wap to spring, dart, jump, wasp wasp, watf watch.

b) ME. a = OE. a, x, ea; Scand. a in open syllables: flanin flannel (Welsh glwanen), gaðər to gather (also geðər), slavər slaver, wakn waken, wagin waggon, gam game (ME. gamen); — faðər father, watər water.

Note. feder, weter are more used. See § 35. 1 a.

- c) ME. a = OE. Scand.  $\bar{a}$ : aks ask (also ajks), alf to fasten, embrace (a wrestling term, Scand.  $h\bar{a}lsa$ , ME. halchen; see NED. sv. halse), grasp grasp.
- d) ME. a = OE.  $\bar{x}$ , chiefly umlaut of OE.  $\bar{a}$ : ani any (rarely oni), ant ant (seldom used), fat fat, lad-d-ar ladder, last last (verb), mad mad, madl to puzzle, confuse.
  - e) ME. a = OE. ēa: laðər lather.
  - f) ME. a = Angl. x, WS. e, y: bali belly (see NED.).
  - g) ME. a = OE. eo, fracture, or u-umlaut, of e: jalə yellow.
- 2. ME. a before  $r + \cos s$  appears as  $\ddot{a}$ , and before final and intervocalic r as  $\ddot{a}$ . In this case ME. a would appear to have developed at first in the dialect to x, as in lit. Engl., and then, instead of making the retrograde movement to  $\ddot{a}$ , to have become narrowed in combining with the following r. After this it fell together with the development of ME. e + r (see § 31. 2) and has since remained at this stage.
  - a) ME. a before r + cons. appears as  $d: \alpha$ ) OE.

- a, æ, ea; ärd hard, ärm harm, ärtf arch, bärk bark (subs.), kärt cart (also kjärt, fr. Scand. kartr?), märk mark, pärk park, spärk spark, stärk stark, swärm swarm, färp sharp, wärm warm, wärn warn.  $\beta$ ) AF. a: bärli barley.  $\gamma$ ) OE. ä: lärk lark.
- 3. a) ME. a= OE. a, w, ea appears as  $\bar{o}$  when followed by l. A parasitic u was apparently developed and then the l was dropped. The stages were probably:  $a+l>aul>\varrho u(l)>\varrho u>\bar{o}$ . See Luick Anglia XVI, p. 462 ff.  $f\bar{o}$  fall,  $k\bar{o}$  call,  $\bar{o}$  all, hall,  $\bar{o}l\bar{o}z$  always,  $\bar{o}redi$  already,  $sm\bar{o}$  small,  $w\bar{o}$  wall.
- b) When ME. a was followed by lf, lk, ls, lt, it appears as  $\tilde{q}$ :  $k\tilde{q}f$  calf,  $\tilde{q}f$  half ( $\tilde{e}f$  is more used),  $\tilde{q}pni$  halfpenny,  $b\tilde{q}k$  to cry (Du.),  $st\tilde{q}k$  stalk,  $m\tilde{q}t$  malt,  $\tilde{q}t\tilde{q}r$  halter,  $s\tilde{q}t$  salt,  $w\tilde{q}t$  to overturn.
- 4. ME. a = OE. a, x appears as o, chiefly before nasals and in some cases after w: gonder gander, kom comb, kon can (vb.), mon man, moni many, omer hammer, pon pan, spon span, roykl fester, wod what, wor was (emphatic).

Note. In other cases the sound is a: swan, tan etc. See 1 a. For ME. a, o = OE. a, o before n + gutt. See § 33.4.

- 5. ME. a appears as at before sibilants: dat dash (ME. dasshe—origin unknown), lat lash, pat a great quantity (ME. paschen), rat rash, smat smash (Scand.), wat to wash (also wet).
- 6. ME. a appears as aj or ja before and after gutturals: ajks to ask, bajg bag, bajk back, blajk black,

drajg drag, flajks flax, rajg rag, slajk slack, wajg wag; kjan can (sb.), kjandl candle, kjap cap, kjat cat, skjab scab.

Note. The majority of these words appear also under 1 a.

- 7. ME. a = OE. ea appears as  $\bar{e}$ :  $\bar{e}f$  half (see 3. b above).  $k\bar{e}l$  to forestall (Scand. kalla).
- 8. ME. a = appears as i: skiter scatter (O. Du. scateren).
- 9. ME. a = OE. ea appears as  $\theta$ :  $w\theta r$  was (wor is more common).

Note. For then, when and other words usually found in ME. with the vowel a, see ME. e § 31, 1 f.

#### ME. e.

- § 31. 1. ME. e appears as e.
- a) ME. e = OE. e, eo, Scand. e in closed syllables and unknown sources: bed bed, beg beg (also bejg), bel bell, belt belt, benf bench, best best, deg to pour water (also dejg), delv delve, den den, dregz dregs, dlent glance (appears in ME. as glent but the origin is uncertain), dwel dwell, edz hedge, edge, eg egg (sb.), also to egg, incite, el hell, elder elder (tree), also as adj. older, in which meaning note the more usual pron. oūdər, elm elm, elmit helmet, elp help, els else, em hem, en hen, eyg hang (also iyg, see 4. b), felt felt, frens French, jel yell, jelp yelp, jet yet, kent Kent, kres cress, leg leg (also lejg), lent Lent, lengt length, melt melt, men men, neb neb, nek neck, net net, pen pen (vb., OE. -pennian), rek wreck, ren wren, rest rest, sel sell, send send, sent sent, set set, setl to settle, and as sb. sofa, sledz sledge, smel smell, smelt smelt, snek latch, spel spell, stedi steady, stem stem, step step, streng string (see 4. a), strengt strength, stretf stretch, swel swell, swelt to swelter, fed shed (sb.), fel shell, felf shelf, tel tell, tlem starve (also

- tlam), tfest chest, twelv twelve, twenti twenty, web web, wed wed, wedz wedge, weft weft, wel well (sb., adv. is wīl), welp whelp, wenf girl, west west.
- b) ME. e = OE. e, eo in open syllables: evn heaven, fetl to mend, repair (Scand.), feder feather, ilevn eleven, ketl kettle (Scand.), ged get, leder leather, netl nettle, peni penny, rekn reckon, sevn seven.

senjarz sinews is from ME. e = OE. eo < io < i.

- c) ME.  $e = \text{OE. } \bar{x}$ ,  $\bar{e} < \text{Germ. } ai$  and  $\bar{x}$ : bleddor bladder, elp health, emti empty, ever ever, evri every, led lead (prtc.), les less, medo meadow, ment meant, nevor never (also nar), red read (prtc.), slept slept, fepstort starling, wet wet.
- d) ME. e = OE.  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\alpha$ : bekn beckon, bled bled, bles bless, depp depth, fed fed, feli fellow (Scand.), kept kept, met met, nekst next, ten ten, peft theft.
- e) ME. e = OE.  $\bar{e}o$ : step step (father), brest breast, devil devil, frend friend.
- f) ME. e = OE. a. w: blegbri blackberry, ed-dər dragonfly, es ashes, et-tərkrop spider, ez has, ed had, geðər gather, emp hemp (OE. also hēnep, Morsbach MEG., § 107. A.5), sek sack, setərti Saturday, ðen then, wen when, weðər whether.
  - g) ME. e = OE. y: dent dint.

Note. These words would point to the fact that the development of OE. x to ME. e was not confined to Kent, as is generally supposed. ed-der is frequently found in ME. as nedre and although et-terkrop is only found with a, it is not met with very often and was no doubt spoken with e. For ez had and ed had, e forms are numerous, especially for the latter. emp may have been influenced by the lit. lang., or be from OE.  $h\bar{e}nep$ , but sek sack occurs with e. seterti must have had ME. e in Lanc. and occurs as such in Langland A. v. 12. geder gather may have been influenced by the lit. language, but den then, wen when are always found with e in the Lanc. ME. poems Sir Gawayne and the allit. poem Patience &c. In

the Destruction of Troy and Joseph of Arimathie, both of which show traces of the West ME. dialect, we have pan and then as well as whon and wen. The e forms may very probably be the West Ml. ones.

2. ME. e before r, from all sources; appears as a) ā, b) ā. But cp. § 36.7.

Here are included also those words which are only found in ME. with i+r, because this i must evidently have developed to e before making the change to  $\ddot{a}$  ( $\ddot{a}$ ). The two groups of genuine ME. e and of e < i, then united with the group from ME. a + r (see § 30. 2). The various OE. sources of these  $\ddot{a}$ :  $\ddot{a}$ - words are given in chap. II, § 4.12.

- a) ä: ärl earl, ärnist earnest, ärt heart, ärþ hearth, ärvist harvest¹, bärk to bark, bärm barm, bärn barn, därlin darling, därk dark, dwärf dwarf, fär far (rarely far), färðin farthing, kjärv carve, järd yard, lärn learn, mär mar, märf marsh, smärt smart, stär star (rarely star), spär to inquire, färt, färt shirt (also fort), stärv starve, tfär char (coal), tūþ-wärtf, -wärtf tooth-ache, þärd, þärd third, wärk wärk work, wärl, wärl whirl, wärp warp, wärt wart.
- b) ä: ärənd errand, ärin herring, bär rush, impetus (Scand.), bäri to bury, berry, bärtf birch, bärħ birth, märi merry, pär(t)-tīn thirteen (apparently influenced by pärd from OE. pridda). The word dzärk to jerk, strike heavily which also appears as dzärt, järk, is not found before the 16 th cent.
  - 3. ME. e appears as ei before f.
  - a) ME. e = OE. e:  $ne\bar{i} \int soft$ , tender.
  - b) ME. e = OE.  $\bar{x}$ :  $fle\bar{\imath}/f$  flesh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the etymology of the word cp. now Hempl Journ. Germ. Phil. 4, 47-49.

- 4. ME. e appears as i.
- a) ME. e, late ME. i = OE. e: string string (also streng), itert rough, would appear to be from ME. heterlice. See Stratman-Bradley.
- b) ME. e = Scand. e: ipg hang (also egg, see above 1. a); skip basket (ME. skeppe = Scand. skeppa) has probably been influenced by ME. kipe basket; sniftr to snift (ME. snevien).
  - 5. ME. e appears as a.

ME. e = OE. e: bant vigour, force; probably derived from vb. bend on analogy of words from Latin or French, like descend — descent, extend — extent, Fr. pendre — pente; see NED., cp. also M. Du. bant. — natlt cross, illtempered.

#### ME. i.

§ 32. 1. ME. i appears as i.

a) ME. i = OE. i, Scand. i, e, i in closed syllables: bigin begin, bit-tor bitter, bitf bitch, bitwixt between, blis bliss, bifor bishop, bring bring, dim dim, drink drink, fin fin, finger finger, thint flint, titf flitch, gift gift, grisl gristle, id it, ilt hilt, im him, in in, inder hinder, it to hit, itf to itch, iv if (also ev), iz, iz, is, his, kid kid, kitlin kitten, krisp crisp, lid lid, lik lick, link link, lim limb, lip lip, litn expect, await (Scand., lipn is also used cf. lipnen in Stratman-Bradley), liv live, midl middle, miks mix, milk milk, mins minnow, mis miss, mist mist, pitf pitch, rib rib, ripy ring, rist wrist, siks six, siksp sixth, sinder cinder, sing sing, siyk sink, sit sit, skil skill, skin skin, sling sling, slipk slink, smiði smithy, smiþ smith, spit spit, spriyg spring, stik stick (sb.), stil still, sting sting, swift swift, swim swim, swing swing, fift shift, filin shilling, fip ship, tik tick, til

till, timber timber, tin tin, tlif cliff, tling cling, tfilder children, tfin chin, twin twin, twin to separate, divide, twist twist, pik thick, ping thing, pisl thistle, wi with, wikid wicked, wil will, wile willow, win win, wind wind, winde window, winter wing wing, wink wink, wisl whistle, wisper whisper, with witch, which.

- b) ME. i = OE. i, Scand. i, e in open syllables, and of unknown origin: bitn bitten,  $di\partial r$  tremble, dliter glitter, drivn driven, fidl fiddle, fit fit, giv give, grip grip, liver liver, pik to pick (also  $p\bar{a}ek$  from a ME. \* $p\bar{\imath}ken$ ; see 39. 2), prik prick, quid quid, rift to belch, rim rim, ritn written, silk silk, sitl sickle, siv sieve, slipi slippery, spindl spindle, stitf stitch,  $sti\partial i$  smithy (origin not certain), fin shin, titl tickle, wide widow, wik alive, wik week.
- c) ME. i = OE. y, Scand. y in closed syllables: bild build, bridz bridge, brisl bristle, did did, dip dip, drip drip, fil fill, fit to remove, gild gild, il hill, il up to wrap up (Scand. hylja), inf inch (also intf), kil kill (OE. \*cyllan not found), kil kiln, kiyg king, kis kiss, kitfin kitchen, lift lift, linf linch (pin), midz midge, mil mill, minster minster, nit knit, pilo pillow, pit pit, ridz ridge, sil sill, sin sin, tinder tinder, tlip clip, trim to trim, pin thin, piyk think.
- d) ME. i = OE. y in open syllables: bizi busy, din din, ip hip, kripl cripple, fipn cowhouse.
- e) ME. i = OE.  $\bar{y}$ : fist fist, tin to close, shut, pimbl thimble, tfikin chicken.
- f) ME. i = OE.  $\bar{\imath}$ : ditf ditch (datf is also used), fifti fifty, fiff fifth, grizli grisly, krismus Christmas, krisn christen (also kesmus and kesn), linin linen (also lin), linsid linseed, litt little.
- g) ME. i = OE. e: rid rid,  $fi\delta er$  feather, brimston brimstone (earlier brenston), grin grin, sinz singe, dinz dint.

piyk think has perhaps been influenced by OE. pyncean (see above c). Cp. § 31. 4.

- h) ME.  $i = \text{Angl. } \bar{e}$ , Ws.  $\bar{x}$ : ridl riddle, sili silly. See Morsbach MEG., p. 144.
- i) ME. i appears as i in midin (Dan. möddin) dungheap.
  - 2. ME. i appears as 7.
- a) before sibilants: dif dish, fif fish, wif wish, iz his (iz is also used).
- b) before original ht: brit bright, fritn frighten, litnin lightning, nit night, rit right, -rit-wright (as compound), sit sight.

An exception is fett fight which seems to go back to a ME. form feht, feight, not fight.

- 3. ME. i appears as u.
- a) ME. i = OE. y: fust first, futl shuttle.
- b) ME. i = OE. 7: wumun woman (also wumon).
- 4. ME. i appears as a.
- a) ME. i = OE. i: or her.
- b) ME. i = OE. i: stərəp stirrup (also stürəp).
- 5. Scand. i appears as
- a) e: seg (Scand. siggy), hard skin on the hands caused by manual labour.
  - b) i: snig eel (Scand. snigill?).

Note. I have been unable to find these words in ME.

#### ME. o.

- § 33. 1. ME. o appears as o.
- a) ME. o = OE. o, Scand. o, n in closed syllables: bogert ghost (Welsh), boks box, bore borrow, botem bottom, dof doff, take off, dog dog, dok dock, dot dot, dlopn to ter-

rify (Scand. glūpna)¹, drop drop, flok flock, foks fox, for for, forməst foremost, fotf, fot to fetch (OE. feccan), frog frog, frost frost, god God (also god), gospil gospel, kob to excel, surpass, kod cod, kok cock, koləp collop (etym. doubtful), kop-web cob-web, kot cot, kotl cockle, kroft croft, krop crop, kros cross, lobstər lobster, lok lock, lot lot, mos moss, not knot, od odd, oft often, olə hollow, on on, op to hop, plot plot, poks pox, rok rock, rops intestines, slop to spill, slopstōn sink (sb.), slor slide (cp. ME. slor mud), snortf snort, snot mucus, sok sock, spot spot, stok stock, stop stop, tlod throw, tlog wooden shoe (etym. doubtful), top top, tron to tackle, screw etc. (Scand. trōnja = the snout of a hammer).

- b) ME. o = OE. o, Scand. o in open syllables: bodi body, frozn frozen, nok knock, oli holly (also olin), otor otter, rot to rot, snod smooth (Scand. snoðinn), spokn spoken, fot shot (prtc.), trodn trodden, tfozn chosen.
  - c) ME. o = OE.  $\bar{o}$ : blosom blossom, fodor fodder, soft soft.
  - 2. ME. o appears as  $\bar{q}$ , chiefly before  $r + \cos x$
- a) ME. o = OE. o, Scand.  $o: f\bar{q}rk$  fork,  $k\bar{q}rn$  corn,  $m\bar{q}rnin$  morning,  $m\bar{q}r\partial r$  murder,  $\bar{q}rn$  horn,  $\bar{q}rtf\partial rd$  orchard,  $st\bar{q}rk$  stork,  $st\bar{q}rm$  storm,  $sw\bar{q}rn$  sworn,  $sk\bar{q}rtf$  scorch,  $f\bar{q}rn$  shorn,  $f\bar{q}rt$  short,  $t\bar{q}rd$  excrement,  $f\bar{q}rn$  thorn,  $w\bar{q}rd$  word;  $br\bar{q}\bar{p}$  broth,  $fr\bar{q}\bar{p}$  froth (Björkman, Scand. LW. 162. 210),  $\bar{q}f$  off.

Note. We have short o before a hard spirant in mos, kros, oft etc. See above 1. a.

- b) ME. o = OE. ō: foster (proper name).
- c) ME. o = OE. eo after w:  $s\bar{q}rd$  sword (rarely  $s\bar{\sigma}rd$ , see § 36.7),  $w\bar{q}rld$  world,  $w\bar{q}rm$  worm (OE. weorm).
- 3. ME. o = OE. o before ll, ls, lt, ld appears as  $o\bar{u}$ . The process of development was similar to that of  $\bar{o}$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Björkman Scand. LW. p. 241.

from ME. a, § 30. 3. A parasite u was developed between the o and the following l, and the resulting diphthong lengthened on the l being dropped. The diphthong thus fell together with that from ME.  $\bar{\varrho}$  (see § 41. 3). Sweet HES. § 808 quotes the u as being noticed so early as 1547 by Salesbury. — boūl bowl (sb.), but note the verb boū to bowl, boūstər bolster, boūt bolt, koūt colt, moūd mould, moūdivārp mole (more often  $m\bar{\varrho}\bar{\varrho}$ art, see below 6), poū to cut hair (ME. pollen), toū toll.

- 4. ME. o = OE. o appears as u. The majority of these words have v following the o. The o was apparently first raised to u and then developed like ME. u and like NE. u from ME.  $\bar{o}$  (see § 40. 2) to u. oming among, fluter flutter, lung long, rung wrong (Scand.), strung strong, stuter to stammer (Scand. stauta), sung song, fud should, tluk cluck, tungz tongs, prung to crowd, pung thong, wind would.
- 5. ME. o = OE. o appears as  $u_{\theta}$ :  $pu_{\theta}rt$  port (also  $p\bar{v}rt$ ).
- 6. ME. o = OE. o, eo before lk appears as ō, the l being dropped: fōk folk, jōk yolk. Cp. 3 above.

#### ME. u.

§ 34. 1. ME. u appears as u.

a) ME. u = OE. u in closed syllables: bigun begun, buk buck, bul bull, bulk bullock, bun bound (ptc), bust bustle, butk buttock, druyk drunk, dum dumb, dunk sparrow (cp. OE. dunn), ful full, fun fun, grun ground (ptc, the sb. is  $gr\bar{e}nd$ ), gut gut, krudz curds (Keltic cruth), krumpl crumple (also scrumpl), kuf cuff, kunin cunning, kup cup, kus curse, lug ear (Scand.), lug lung, nun nun, pluk to pluck (also plug), run run, rug rung, sprugg sprung,

spun spun, stung stung, sum some, sun sun, sung sung, sunk sunk, swum swum, swung swung, tlung clung, tub tub (ME. tubbe), tumbl tumble, tung tongue, tfuner to grumble (not found before the 16th cent.; see NED.), udli ugly, under under, underd hundred, unger hunger, unt hunt, wul wool, wulf wolf, wun won, wunder wonder.

- b) ME. u = OE. u in open syllables: bu(t)tor butter, buv above, kud cud (kwid quid is from the OE. form cwidu), kum come, luv love, mun must (emphatic Scand. muna), muyk monk, num numb, nut nut, stun to stun, sumor summer, sun son, punor thunder, uni honey, wud wood; nukoz knuckles is not found in OE., uvn oven is spelt ME. o but the sound meant may be u (Luick, Untersuchungen § 438), fuvl shovel has OE. sceof but this may be a form of spelling for scuf (Sievers Ags. G. § 76. 2).
- c) ME. u = OE. y: bundl bundle, kruts crutch, muk muck (Scand.), stubl stubble, suts such, sut shut, tluster cluster, trundl trundle, hoop, pruts push, squeeze.

Note. Before f we have  $u\bar{\imath}$  in  $blu\bar{\imath}f$  blush,  $bu\bar{\imath}f$  bush (origin uncertain),  $ru\bar{\imath}f$  rush.

- d) ME. u = OE.  $\bar{u}$ : bud but, dust dust, ruf rough, rust rust, tusk tusk (also  $tu\bar{i}/$ ),  $\bar{p}um$  thumb, krum crumb, ud-dor udder, uz us, uzbund husband.
  - e) ME. u = OE. i(u) after w: was worse, wast worst.
  - f) ME. u = OE. eo after w: wup worth.
  - 2. ME. u appears as o.
- a) ME. u = OE. u before r in closed and in open syllables: dor door (du r) in also used),  $f \tilde{o} r \tilde{o} r$  further (also contracted to  $f \tilde{o} r$ ), kos curse (kus is more used), torf turf,  $t \tilde{o} r n$  turn, tortl turtle (little used).
  - b) ME. u = OE. y before r: or her (emphatic), stor

stir, fort shirt (Seand.), tfortf church; dort dirt is from Seand. drit.

Note. These words have been included here instead of under ME. i because their pron. appears to point to a previous u either ME, or later. There appears to be evidence pointing to the fact that these words never were pronounced with i, but there is also evidence in favour of such an assumption. Sweet HES. § 663, and other grammarians assume that OE. y gave i in the Midlands and North and " only in the South West. Sweet says that "OE. " was completely unrounded in WMl.« Against this it may be pointed out that these words are usually spelt with u in »Piers Plowman« and in »Sir Gawayne« (a poem in the Lanc. dialect). I have not found them in »Pearl« or »Patience« but they are common enough with the spelling u in Layamon and other Midland writers. Now, as a previous u must be assumed of, the words under a) it seems more natural to suppose that it proceeded directly from OE. y [ $\ddot{u}$ ]. On the other hand there is evidence in favour of the u having proceeded from ME. i, viz., that the Scand. loan word drit only appears as durt in the 15th century (See NED.), and that the word bird - pronounced in the dialect brid < OE. ME. brid - is occasionally heard as bord and burd. (The pron. furt, stur, tfurtf, durt are occasionally heard, but come, I believe, from a neighbouring dialect. This would, however, bear in favour of ME. u.) The evidence of the French words is equally conflicting. We have ort hurt from AF. " pointing to ME. u, and ortjont hedgehog, sori sirrah from AF. i see § 53.5), pointing to the dialect o being from ME. i. Thus the evidence from neither side is really convincing.

- c) konivest contrary, opposite, is perhaps related to cunning, see EDD.
- 3. ME. u = OE. u appears as  $\bar{u}$ :  $k\bar{u}t\bar{\sigma}r$  coulter,  $p\bar{u}$  pull,  $\int \bar{u}d\cdot d\sigma r$  shoulder (also  $\int \bar{u}d\cdot d\sigma r$ , see § 49. 2);  $skr\bar{u}f$  scurf, riff-raff (Scand.),  $pr\bar{u}$  through.
  - 4. ME. u appears as a.
  - a) ME. u = OE. u: for furrow, torf turf (see 2. a).
  - b) ME. u = OE. eo after w: war fip worship.
  - 5. ME. u appears as o: golsp gulp (Du. golpen).
  - 6. ME. u appears as a: radl ruddle (ME. rudel).

## 2. Long Vowels.

#### ME. a.

§ 35. 1. ME.  $\bar{a}$  appears as  $\hat{e}$ .

a) ME.  $\bar{a} = \text{OE}$ . a, x, ea; Scand. a, in open syllables:  $b\bar{e}k$  bake,  $b\bar{e}\bar{\sigma}$  bathe,  $bl\bar{e}d$  blade,  $bl\bar{e}z$  blaze,  $\bar{e}k$  ache,  $e\bar{k}\bar{\sigma}r$  acre,  $e\bar{l}$  ale,  $e\bar{p}$  ape,  $e\bar{t}$  hate,  $f\bar{e}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}r$  father (also  $fa\bar{\sigma}r$ , see § 30. 1. b),  $fl\bar{e}k$  flake,  $g\bar{e}p$  to yawn,  $g\bar{e}t$  gate, way, manner,  $gr\bar{e}v$  grave,  $gr\bar{e}z$  graze,  $k\bar{e}k$  cake,  $kr\bar{e}dl$  cradle,  $l\bar{e}dl$  ladle,  $l\bar{e}k$  lake,  $l\bar{e}m$  lame,  $l\bar{e}t$  late,  $m\bar{e}d$  made,  $m\bar{e}k$  make,  $m\bar{e}n$  mane,  $n\bar{e}v$  nave,  $n\bar{e}vl$  navel,  $r\bar{e}k$  rake,  $r\bar{e}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}r$  rather,  $s\bar{e}k$  sake,  $s\bar{e}l$  sale,  $s\bar{e}m$  same,  $sk\bar{e}l$  skale,  $skr\bar{e}p$  scrape,  $sn\bar{e}k$  snake,  $sp\bar{e}d$  spade,  $st\bar{e}k$  stake,  $f\bar{e}m$  shame,  $f\bar{e}p$  shape,  $t\bar{e}l$  tale,  $w\bar{e}d$  wade,  $w\bar{e}l$  whale,  $w\bar{e}t\bar{\sigma}r$  water (also  $wat\bar{\sigma}r$ , see § 30. 1. b),  $w\bar{e}v$  wave.

Note. ME.  $\tilde{a}$  must be assumed as the basis of  $\bar{e}g$  the hawthorn berry, although OE. haga appears in ME. as haw.

The origin of  $b\bar{e}t$  to start and  $b\bar{e}ts$  starting point does not seem to be clear.

- 2. ME.  $\bar{a} = \text{OE}$ . a, a, ea appears as  $\bar{s}$  when followed by r:  $b\bar{s}r$  bare,  $\bar{s}r$  hare,  $kj\bar{s}r$  care,  $m\bar{s}r$  mare,  $sp\bar{s}r$  spare,  $st\bar{s}r$  stare,  $f\bar{s}r$  share. But we have  $\bar{a}r$  are (unaccented  $\bar{a}r$ ), cp. ME.  $\bar{a}$  2.
- 3. ME.  $\bar{a} = OE$ . a appears as e: ev have, tek take (also te).
- 4. ME. ā appears as  $\bar{\imath}_{\bar{\nu}}$  in  $\bar{\imath}_{\bar{\nu}}m_{\bar{\nu}}$  hames, the irons on a horse collar (cp. Du. haam).
- 5. ME.  $\bar{a}$  appears as a: swad pod (of peas). ME.  $sw\bar{a}\bar{p}e$ .

## ME. ē.

§ 36. 1. ME. ē appears as ī.

a) ME.  $\bar{e}=$  OE.  $\bar{e}$  for  $\check{e}$  in monosyllables:  $\bar{\imath}$  he,  $\partial \bar{\imath}$  thee,  $m\bar{\imath}$  me.

- b) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ .  $\bar{e}$  for  $\bar{e}$  before lengthening groups: fild and filt field, jild yield, fild shield. Also before l in wil (adv., OE. wel and  $w\bar{e}l$ , cp. Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarb. I. § 284).
- c) ME.  $\bar{e} = \text{Angl. } \bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{x}$  for Teutonic  $\bar{x}$ : brit breathe, gridi greedy, il eel, ivnin evening, nidl needle, sid seed, fip sheep, tfik cheek, tfiz cheese.
- d) ME.  $\bar{e} = \text{Angl. } \bar{e}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{e}a$ : bilīf belief, bilīv believe,  $n\bar{u}d$  need, slīv sleeve, stīpl steeple, fit sheet, tī to tie.
- e) ME.  $\bar{e} = \text{Angl. } \bar{e}$  for  $\bar{e}a$  and  $\bar{e}o$  before gutturals:  $b\bar{\imath}kn$  beacon,  $dr\bar{\imath}$  tiresome, troublesome.
- f) ME.  $\dot{e} = \text{Angl.} \ \bar{w}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{v}$ : bitt beetle (hammer), blid bleed, britfiz breeches, fid feed, fit feet, gis geese, grin green, it heel, kin keen, kip keep, kwin queen, mit meet, sim seem, sitf to seek, swit sweet, tip teeth, wip weep.
- g) ME.  $\tilde{e} = OE$ .  $\tilde{e}o$ :  $b\tilde{\imath}$  be, bee, bitwin between,  $d\tilde{\imath}p$  deep,  $dl\tilde{\imath}$  glee,  $fl\tilde{\imath}t$  fleet,  $k\tilde{\imath}l$  keel,  $kr\tilde{\imath}p$  creep,  $fr\tilde{\imath}$  free,  $fr\tilde{\imath}\tilde{\imath}$  freeze,  $l\tilde{\imath}f$  lief,  $n\tilde{\imath}$  knee,  $pr\tilde{\imath}st$  priest,  $r\tilde{\imath}d$  reed,  $r\tilde{\imath}l$  reel,  $s\tilde{\imath}$  see,  $s\tilde{\imath}l$  seal,  $sn\tilde{\imath}z$  sneeze,  $tr\tilde{\imath}$  tree,  $p\tilde{\imath}f$  thief,  $pr\tilde{\imath}$  three,  $w\tilde{\imath}l$  wheel. Exception see below, 5.
  - h) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ . y:  $\bar{v}vl$  evil.
  - 2. ME. ė appears as i.
  - a) ME.  $\bar{e} = \text{Angl. } \bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{e}a$  before c: rik rick.
  - b) ME. ē = Angl. ē, Umlaut of ēa: strip strip.
  - c) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ .  $\bar{e}o$ : bin been, sik sick.
- d) ME.  $\tilde{e} = \text{OE}$ .  $\tilde{e}$ : mi me,  $\delta i$  thee, wi we (these three unemphatic forms, see above 1. a).
  - 3. ME. ē appears as to before r.
- a) ME.  $\bar{e}=$  OE.  $\bar{e},\ \bar{e}o$ :  $\bar{\imath}or$  here,  $b\bar{\imath}or$  beer,  $d\bar{\imath}or$  deer, stior steer.
  - b) ME.  $\bar{e} = \text{Angl. } \bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{x}$ :  $\bar{\sigma}$ iər there, wiər where.

- c) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{e}a$ :  $\bar{\iota}$  and heard.
- 4. ME. ē appears as e.

ME.  $\bar{e}=$  Angl.  $\bar{e},$  WS.  $\bar{x},$  Teut.  $\bar{x}:$  bre $\bar{p}$  breath, led let,  $\bar{p}red$  thread.

- 5. ME. ē appears as ē.
- a) ME. ē = OE. ēo: wēk, wēkin wick.
- b) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ .  $\bar{e}$ : we we.
- 6. ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ .  $\bar{e}$  appears as  $\bar{s}$  before  $r: j\bar{s}r$  year,  $\bar{s}r$  hair.
- 7. ME.  $\bar{e} = \text{OE}$ . eo, ea before rd, rn appears as  $\bar{p}$  in sord sword (cp. § 33. 2. c), forn fern. This development seems to have taken place only in those cases where the e in late ME. was long, short ME. e before r + cons. becoming either  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{a}$  in the Adlington dialect (cp. § 31.2).

## ME. $\bar{e}$ .

- § 37. 1. ME.  $\tilde{e}$  appears usually as  $\tilde{v}$ .
- a) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ .  $\bar{e}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{a}$ :  $d\bar{\imath}\partial l$  deal,  $dl\bar{\imath}\partial m$  gleam,  $l\bar{\imath}\partial l$  to lead,  $l\bar{\imath}\partial n$  to lean,  $l\bar{\imath}\partial n$  lean (adj.),  $l\bar{\imath}\partial st$  least,  $l\bar{\imath}\partial v$  leave,  $m\bar{\imath}\partial n$  to mean,  $t\bar{\imath}\partial z$  tease,  $tl\bar{\imath}\partial n$  clean,  $w\bar{\imath}\partial t$  wheat.
- b) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ .  $\bar{e}a$ :  $b\bar{\imath}om$  beam,  $b\bar{\imath}om$  bean,  $d\bar{\imath}od$  dead,  $d\bar{\imath}of$  deaf,  $d\bar{\imath}o\bar{p}$  death,  $dr\bar{\imath}om$  dream,  $\bar{\imath}op$  heap,  $\bar{\imath}or$  ear,  $\bar{\imath}od$  head (more often jed),  $l\bar{\imath}of$  leaf,  $l\bar{\imath}op$  leap,  $n\bar{\imath}or$  near,  $s\bar{\imath}om$  seam,  $str\bar{\imath}om$  stream,  $f\bar{\imath}of$  sheaf,  $t\bar{\imath}om$  team,  $t\bar{\imath}or$  tear (sb.),  $tf\bar{\imath}op$  cheap (also tfep),  $pr\bar{\imath}op$  contradict.
  - c) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ . e in open syllable: spior spear.
  - d) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ . ea (late OE.  $\bar{e}a$ ):  $b\bar{\imath}\partial rd$  beard.
  - 2. ME. ē appears as ī.
- a) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ .  $\bar{e}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{a}$ :  $r\bar{\imath}p$  wreath,  $s\bar{\imath}$  versea ( $s\bar{e}$  is more used).
- b) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ .  $\bar{e}a$ : bit to light, kindle,  $ft\bar{i}$  flea (pl.  $fte\bar{i}b$ ), ist east,  $st\bar{i}p$  steep,  $f\bar{i}d$  to spill.

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Note. It is not clear why these words have not also developed a diphthong as in 1 a) b) above. Some of them might be explained by analogy, or the fact that they are seldom used, but they cannot all be accounted for in this way.

- 3. ME.  $\tilde{e}$  appears as e usually in closed syllables before d.
- a) ME.  $\bar{e} = OE$ .  $\bar{w}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{a}$ : redi ready, spred spread, swet sweat.
- b) ME.  $\tilde{e}=$  OE.  $\tilde{e}a$ : bred bread, led lead (sb.), red red, jed head, fred shred, tfep cheap (see above 1. b), pretn threaten.
- 4. ME. ē appears as ē in sē sea (see 2. a). The modern word tea is pronounced tē.
- 5. ME.  $\tilde{e} = OE$ . e, in open syllables and before r appears as  $\tilde{s}$ :  $b\tilde{s}r$  to bear, also as sb. bear,  $sw\tilde{s}r$  swear.
  - 6. ME. ę appears as et.
- a) ME.  $\dot{e} = OE$ .  $\bar{w}$  (i-Umlaut of  $\dot{a}$ ) before  $\dot{e}\dot{e}$ : bleath bleach, rest reach, test teach.
  - b) ME.  $\bar{g}$  (g?) = OE.  $\bar{w}$ , Angl. g: meil meal (repast).
  - c) ME. ē = OE. ēa: fleip fleas, greit great.

# ME. $\hat{e}$ (i. e. medium $\bar{e}$ ).

- § 38. 1. ME.  $\tilde{e} = \text{OE. } e$ , Scand. e, appears as  $e\tau$ : breik break,  $e\bar{\imath}t$  eat,  $e\bar{\imath}v$  heavy,  $me\bar{\imath}t$  meal (corn),  $me\bar{\imath}t$  meat,  $me\bar{\imath}v$  fist (Scand.  $kne\bar{\mu}t$ ).  $pe\bar{\imath}$  pea (OE. pisu > peosu),  $spe\bar{\imath}k$  speak,  $ste\bar{\imath}t$  steal, also in the meaning brush-handle,  $tre\bar{\imath}t$  tread,  $we\bar{\imath}v$  weave.
- 2. ME.  $\hat{e}=$  OE. e, Scand. e, appears as e: lek leak, sted stead.
- 3. ME.  $\dot{e} = \text{OE}$ . e appears as i in open syllable before s: bizom besom, wizl weasel.
- 4. ME.  $\hat{e}$  appears as  $i\hat{o}$ : riop reap (OE. io > eo; seldom used).

#### ME. 7.

- § 39. 1. ME.  $\bar{\imath}$  appears as  $\bar{a}$ . We have here a case in which the dialect has progressed farther than lit. English. The lit. Eng. ai has been monophthongised to  $\bar{a}$ . Perhaps the intermediate stage was  $\bar{a}e$  which is chiefly found finally. (See below 2.)
- a) ME.  $\bar{\imath} = \text{OE}$ .  $\bar{\imath}$ , Scand. i:  $\bar{\imath}$ lənd island,  $\bar{\imath}$ s ice,  $\bar{\imath}$ vi ivy,  $b\bar{\imath}$ d bide, abide,  $b\bar{\imath}$ t bite,  $bl\bar{\imath}$ d blithe,  $br\bar{\imath}$ dl bridle,  $d\bar{\imath}$ t ditch (also ditf see § 32. 1. f.),  $dr\bar{\imath}$ v drive,  $sl\bar{\imath}$ v alive,  $f\bar{\imath}$ l file,  $f\bar{\imath}$ v five,  $kr\bar{\imath}$ st Christ (also  $kr\bar{\imath}$ est),  $l\bar{\imath}$ f life,  $l\bar{\imath}$ k like (more often  $l\bar{\imath}$ ek),  $l\bar{\imath}$ m lime,  $l\bar{\imath}$ n line,  $l\bar{\imath}$ t a few, little (principally used by strangers from a few miles farther North),  $m\bar{\imath}$ l mile,  $n\bar{\imath}$ f knife,  $p\bar{\imath}$ l pile,  $p\bar{\imath}$ n pine,  $p\bar{\imath}$ p pipe,  $r\bar{\imath}$ d ride,  $r\bar{\imath}$ p ripe,  $r\bar{\imath}$ t write,  $r\bar{\imath}$ z rise,  $s\bar{\imath}$ d side,  $s\bar{\imath}$ d scythe,  $sn\bar{\imath}$ p snipe,  $str\bar{\imath}$ d stride,  $f\bar{\imath}$ n shine,  $f\bar{\imath}$ v slice (cp. MLG.  $sch\bar{\imath}$ ve),  $t\bar{\imath}$ d tide,  $t\bar{\imath}$ dings,  $t\bar{\imath}$ m time,  $tw\bar{\imath}$ n twine,  $tw\bar{\imath}$ s twice,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n thine,  $d\bar{\imath}$ r thrive,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n why (also  $d\bar{\imath}$ ),  $d\bar{\imath}$ n wide,  $d\bar{\imath}$ r wife,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n while,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n whine, wine,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n white,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n while,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n while,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n white,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n while,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n while,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n white,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n while,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n white,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n while,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n while,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n white,  $d\bar{\imath}$ n white,
- b) ME.  $\bar{\imath}=$  OE.  $\bar{y}$ :  $\bar{a}v$  hive,  $br\bar{a}d$  bride,  $d\bar{a}v$  dive,  $kj\bar{a}t$  kite (also  $k\bar{a}et$ ),  $l\bar{a}s$  lice,  $m\bar{a}s$  mice,  $pr\bar{a}d$  pride.
- c) ME.  $\bar{\imath} = OE$ . i before ld, mb, nd:  $b\bar{a}nd$  to bind (rare),  $bl\bar{a}nd$  blind,  $f\bar{a}nd$  find,  $gr\bar{a}nd$  grind,  $m\bar{a}ld$  mild,  $m\bar{a}nd$  mind (OE. ge-mynd),  $tl\bar{a}m$  climb,  $tf\bar{a}lt$  child (but pl.  $tfild\partial r$ ),  $w\bar{a}ld$  wild,  $w\bar{a}nd$  to wind.
- d) ME.  $\bar{\imath}=$  OE.  $i,\ y+g$ :  $b\bar{a}$  buy (also  $b\bar{a}e$ ),  $n\bar{a}n$  nine,  $t\bar{a}l$  tile,  $st\bar{a}l$  stile is rare (usually  $\underline{st\bar{\imath}l}$ ),  $t\bar{a}\bar{\sigma}$  tithe.
- 2. ME.  $\bar{\imath}$  appears as  $\bar{\imath}e$  chiefly before k and finally:  $l\bar{\imath}ek$  like, compelled (e. g.  $\bar{\imath}z$   $l\bar{\imath}ek$   $t\bar{\imath}$  du it 'he is compelled to de it'),  $p\bar{\imath}ek$  pike (also to pick, in which meaning a ME. \* $p\bar{\imath}ken$  must be assumed as the basis, see § 32. 1.b),  $s\bar{\imath}ek$  to suck (apparently confusion of ME.  $s\bar{\imath}ken$

to sigh, with suck), skrāek to shriek, cry (see Luick, Anglia XVI 507), straek strike, wāe why, bāe buy, skāe sky; kāet kite, krāest Christ.

Late ME.  $\bar{\imath}$  from early ME. ei in OE.  $p\bar{e}oh$  and  $\bar{e}age$  has developed like ordinary ME.  $\bar{\imath}$  ät the end of words:  $p\bar{a}e$  thigh,  $\bar{a}e$  eye (rarely  $\bar{\imath}$ , but pl. always  $\bar{\imath}n$ , cp. ME. Northern  $\bar{e}n$ ).

Note. Many of these words are also pronounced with the long vowel ā. See above 1.

- 3. ME. t appears as ais before r: ais hire, ais n iron, fais fire, spais spire, wais wire.
- 4. ME. ī appears as i: id hide; perhaps in consequence of the influence of the pret.
  - 5. ME. 7 appears as of: boil boil (subst.).
  - 6. ME. 7 appears as 7: stil stile. See above 1. d.

#### ME. o.

- § 40. 1. ME. o appears as a.
- a) ME.  $\delta = \text{OE.}$   $\bar{\sigma}$ , Scand.  $\bar{\sigma}$ : blūm bloom, brūd brood, brūm broom, būk book, būt boot, dūment an event, fūd food, fūtin money paid for drink on beginning work etc., gūm gum (also gūm), krūt crooked, kūk to cook, kūl cool, kūm came, kūmz cummings, lūk look, lūm loom, mūd mood, mūn moon, pūl pool, rūf roof, rūk rook (rare), rūt root, skū school, spūn spoon, stū stool, sūt soot, fū shoe, fūk shook, tūk took, tūl tool, tūp tooth, ūf hoof, ūk hook, ūzl ousel.
- b) ME.  $\bar{\sigma}$  from older  $\bar{\varrho}$ :  $t\bar{u}$  two,  $\bar{u}$  who (also  $u\bar{\sigma}$ ; see § 41. 2. a).
- c) ME  $\bar{o} =$  OE. u: smāk smoke (OE. \*smucian. Luick, Untersuchungen § 469).
- d) Here seem to belong certain  $\bar{u}$ 's for  $\bar{v} + \bar{z}$ , although the diphthong ou may be expected and in other

similar cases certainly has existed. See § 48 bū bough, anū enough, plū plough.

Note. It is doubtful whether  $s\bar{u}$  sow (OE. sugu) is to be placed here (OE. sugu) Early ME.  $s\bar{o}ghe$ ) or whether it is a Scand. loanword (Björkman Archiv CI. 393) and goes back to a ME.  $s\bar{o}$ .

2. ME. ō appears as u.

These words developed in the same way as those in the preceding paragraph, viz., to  $\bar{u}$ . This  $\bar{u}$  was shortened and the resulting  $\bar{u}$  developed as ME.  $\bar{u}$ . (See § 34. 1.) There was similar movement among two groups of words in lit. Eng., one group developing  $\bar{o} > \bar{u} > \bar{u}$  and the other developing this  $\bar{u}$  further to v (see examples below). Both these groups are represented by  $\bar{u}$  in the dialect: blud blood, bruk brook, bruder brother, buzum bosom, dluv glove, dun done, flud flood, gud good, nuk nook, muder mother, mundi Monday, mun $\bar{p}$  month, stud stood, ud hood (rare), uder other.

- 3. ME. ō appears as uo before r: buord board, ofword afford, fluor floor, muor moor, uor whore.
- 4. ME. ō appears as u: bắt boot, du do, fắt foot, rắt root, sắt soot, tu too, tắk took.

Notice that almost all these words are also pronounced with a.

## ME. Q.

- § 41. 1. ME.  $\bar{\varrho}$  appears as  $\bar{\varrho}$ .
- a) ME.  $\bar{\varrho} = \text{OE. } o$ , Scand.  $o: \partial f \bar{o} r$  before (more often  $\partial f u \partial r$ . See below 2. b),  $\int f \bar{o} t \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, d \, f \log t$ ,  $\int f \bar{o} \, f \log$

Note. In  $br\bar{o}k$  broke,  $st\bar{o}l$  stole,  $t\bar{o}r$  tore,  $sp\bar{o}k$  spoke,  $sw\bar{o}r$  swore the vowel of the p. partic. has been extended into the preterite.

b) ME.  $\bar{q} = OE$ .  $\bar{a}$ , Scand.  $\bar{a}$ :  $b\bar{o}n$  bone,  $b\bar{o}t$  boat,  $d\bar{o}$  doe,  $dr\bar{o}v$  drove (pret.),  $f\bar{o}m$  foam,  $g\bar{o}st$  ghost,  $g\bar{o}t$  goat,

carries

gröp grope, gröv grove, löd load, löf loaf, nön none, ök oak,

ōnli only, ōr oar, ōli boly, ōþ oath (rare), pōp pope, rōd road, rode, rōr roar, rōt wrote, rōp rope, sō so, sōp soap, spōk spoke, stōn stone, strōd strode, stròk stroke, tlōvər clover, tō toe, tōd toad, wōl whole.

Note. Some of these words are also pronounced with the vowel sound  $u\partial$ , but I cannot find any rule as to the conditions. See below 2 a.

- c) ME.  $\bar{q} = OE$ .  $\bar{e}o$  (o?):  $l\bar{o}z$  to lose (also  $lo\bar{z}z$  and  $lu\bar{z}z$ ),  $t/\bar{o}k$  choke.
  - 2. ME. o appears as ua.
- a) ME.  $\bar{\varrho} = \text{OE}$ .  $\bar{a}$ : busn bone, busp both, gus go, lust load, lust loaf, musr more, must most (also must), stum stone, thus clothes, tus to, tust toad, us who, use hoarse, usts oats.

A few of these words are more often pronounced with the long vowel sound o. See above 1. h, and Note.

- b) ME.  $\bar{q} = \text{OE. } o$ : duar door (also dor. See § 34, 2. a), afuar before (see above 1. a), nuaz nose (more usual noz. See 1. a), skuar score.
  - c) ME.  $\bar{\varrho} = OE$ .  $\bar{\varrho}o$  (0?): lunz lose (See 1. c. and 7).
- 3. ME.  $\bar{\varrho} + l$ , rarely in other cases, appears as ou:
- a) ME. \$\bar{q}\$ = OE. \$\bar{a}\$: now no (as neg. opposite to yes otherwise no), dow dole, pow pole, powler to use roughly, ill-treat (ME. p\bar{q}le a pole?).
- b) ME.  $\tilde{q} = OE$ . Angl. a, late OE.  $\tilde{a}$  (WS. ea): bound bold, found fold, kound cold, ound old, tound told.
- c) ME.  $\bar{q} = OE$ . o: goad gold (gald is occasionally heard), stoan stolen.

Note. For the development of this diphthong, see § 33.3.

4. ME. o appears as o.

4

- a) ME.  $\bar{q} = OE$ .  $\bar{a}$ : gon gone, olidi holiday, ot hot, fon shone, sori sorry.
  - b) ME.  $\bar{\varrho} = OE$ . o: brokn broken, open open.
- 5. ME.  $\bar{q}$  appears as  $\bar{q}$ :  $br\bar{q}d$  broad,  $l\bar{q}rd$  lord,  $tl\bar{q}\bar{p}$  cloth.
  - 6) ME. \(\bar{q}\) appears as \(\bar{u}\): \(\partial \bar{u}z\) those.
- 7. ME.  $\bar{\varrho}$  appears as  $o\bar{\imath}$ :  $ko\bar{\imath}l$  coal (more often  $k\bar{\upsilon}l$ . See above 1. a),  $lo\bar{\imath}z$  lose (normally  $l\bar{\upsilon}z$ . See 1. c and 2. c, above),  $o\bar{\imath}l$  hole (generally  $\bar{\upsilon}l$ . See 1. a).

Note. This oi appears to have come from East Lancashire or the West Riding of Yorks.

- 8. ME. \(\rho\) appears as a) wo, b) wu.
- a) won one, wons once.
- b) wum home.

Note. For the initial w cp. § 63. 1.d.

# ME. ū (spelt ou).

## § 42. 1. ME. $\bar{u}$ appears as $\bar{e}$ .

We have here another instance in which the dialect appears to have progressed farther than lit. Eng. The lit. Eng. au has been monopthongised, the first part of the diphthong being retained and lengthened, and the second part dropped.

a) ME.  $\bar{u} = \text{OE}$ .  $\bar{u}$ :  $b\bar{e}$  to bow,  $b\bar{e}nd$  bound (ready),  $b\bar{e}t$  without,  $br\bar{e}n$  brown,  $d\bar{e}n$  down,  $\bar{e}$  how,  $\bar{e}nd$  hound,  $\bar{e}s$  house,  $\bar{e}t$  out,  $b\bar{e}t$  about,  $f\bar{e}$  ugly,  $gr\bar{e}nd$  ground,  $k\bar{e}$  cow,  $kr\bar{e}d$  crowd,  $l\bar{e}d$  loud,  $m\bar{e}s$  mouse,  $m\bar{e}t$  moult,  $m\bar{e}p$  mouth,  $n\bar{e}$  now,  $p\bar{e}nd$  pound,  $pr\bar{e}d$  proud,  $s\bar{e}p$  South,  $t\bar{e}n$  town,  $tl\bar{e}d$  cloud,  $tl\bar{e}t$  to clout, strike,  $p\bar{e}znd$  thousand.

Note. The pron.  $r\bar{e}m$  room is occasionally heard. The usual pron. is  $r\bar{u}m$ . (See below 5 and cp. Sweet NEG. § 852.)

2. ME.  $\bar{u}$  (later u) = OE.  $\bar{u}$  appears as u. This ME.  $\bar{u}$  was first shortened to  $\bar{u}$ , and then it developed as ME.  $\bar{u}$ .

- See § 34. 1: duk duck, krum crumb, kud could, plum plum, suk suck, sup to drink, suðarn Southern, fuv shove.
- 3. ME.  $\bar{u}$  from older ough = OE. ah and  $\bar{o}h$ ,  $\bar{o}g$  gives u + f: ruf rough, tuf tough, tluf clough.

Note 1. We have also touf and tof tough. See § 49.2. e. anuf is also used but the usual pron. is anu enough. See § 40.1.d.

Note 2. The origin of suf a drain, is not clear, cp. MLG. so.

- 4. ME. a appears as a before r: ar our, kar and kjär to cower, sit down (Scand. kara), sår sour, får shower.
- 5. ME. u appears as u chiefly before lip consonants: bru brow, fumert foumart, rum room, stup stoop.
- 6. ME.  $\tilde{u}$  appears as  $\tilde{v}$  in  $s\tilde{v}p$  sup (sb.), a small quantity. (See above 2.)
  - 7. ME. a = OE. ug appears as oa: foal fowl.

# 3. The Diphthongs.

#### ME. ai.

§ 43. 1. ME. ai appears as ē.

- a) ME. ai = OE. wg: brēn brain,  $d\bar{e}$  day,  $d\bar{e}tl\bar{e}r$  day-labourer (Scand.),  $d\bar{e}zi$  daisy,  $f\bar{e}n$  fain,  $m\bar{e}n$  main,  $n\bar{e}l$  nail,  $sn\bar{e}l$  snail,  $t\bar{e}l$  tail.
- b) ME. ai, ei = OE. eg: ēl ail, lēd laid, plē play, rēn rain, sēl sail, wē way.
- c) ME. ai = OE.  $\bar{e}g$ :  $\bar{e}\partial \sigma r$  either (also  $\bar{o}\partial \sigma r$  from ME. outher, OE.  $\bar{a}w\partial e r$ ),  $gr\bar{e}$  gray,  $tl\bar{e}$  clay.

Note. For other cases of OE. æg cp. ME. ei.

d) ME. ai, ei = OE.  $\bar{e}g$ ,  $\bar{e}h$  ( $\bar{e}ah$ ):  $\bar{e}$  hay,  $n\bar{e}b\bar{o}r$  neighbour.

Note. For other cases of OE. ēg cp. ME. ei.

e) ME.  $ai = \text{Scand. } ei: b\bar{e}t \text{ bait, } \bar{e}l \text{ hail, } gr\bar{e}dli \text{ thoroughly, genuine, in a proper manner (Scand. } greiðli), fēk fake, trick, nē nay, rēz raise, stēk steak, ðē they, wēk weak (cp. § 13. 2. f.).$ 

- 2. ME. ai appears as 5 before r: for fair, stor stair, our their.
  - 3. ME. ai appears shortened as e: se say.

#### ME. au.

- § 44. 1. ME. au appears as  $\bar{\varrho}$ .
- a) ME. au = OE. a + g:  $dr\bar{\varrho}$  draw (also  $dr\bar{\varrho}$ ),  $l\bar{\varrho}$  law,  $n\bar{\varrho}$  gnaw,  $s\bar{\varrho}$  saw.
- b) ME. au = OE. a, ea + w:  $tl\bar{q}$  claw,  $r\bar{q}$  raw,  $str\bar{q}$  straw (rarely  $str\bar{o}$ ).
- c) ME. au = OE. or Scand. a + f:  $\bar{\rho}k$  hawk,  $kr\bar{\rho}l$  crawl. See Björkman Scand. LW. 76.
- d) ME. au = Scand. au:  $g\bar{q}m$  to understand, perceive and  $g\bar{q}mlos$  dull, foolish. See Björkman 70.
  - 2. ME. au before ht appears as a) oū, b) af.
  - a) toūt taught.
  - b) draft draught.

#### ME. ei.

- § 45. 1. ME. ei appears as eī (cp. § 22. 2).
- a) ME. ei = OE. eah: eit eight.
- b) ME. ei = OE.  $\bar{e}g$ :  $ke\bar{\imath}$  key.
- c) ME. ei = OE.  $\bar{e}g$ : drei dry (more usually  $dr\bar{a}e = ME$ .  $dr\bar{\imath}$ ).
- d) ME. ei = OE. eh, eh, eg: eīt height, streīt straight, weī weigh (OE. wegan, cp. Björkman Scand. LW. 257).
  - e) ME. ei = Scand. æ before ht: weīt weight.
- f) ME. ei = Scand.  $ei: swe\bar{\imath}$  to swing, sway,  $ke\bar{\imath}$ - $p\bar{\varrho}d$  left-handed (Scand. origin obscure).
- 2. ME. ei = OE.  $\bar{e} + g$  appears as  $\bar{\imath}$ :  $br\bar{\imath}d$  frightened (rare).
- 3. Scand. ei appears as e: kek to tip up. But see Björkman p. 61.

Note. As for early ME. ei > late ME.  $\hat{\imath}$  in eye, thigh cp. § 39. 2.

## ME. eu.

- § 46. 1. ME. eu = OE. eaw appears as  $j\bar{u}$  or  $\bar{u}$ , the j being amalgamated with a preceding d to  $d\bar{z}$ :  $fj\bar{u}$  few,  $d_{\bar{z}}\bar{u}$  dew.
- 2. ME. eu = OE. eaw appears as où: souini wet, pasty.

#### ME. eu.

- § 47. 1. ME. eu = OE. eow appears as:
- a) jū: njū new.
- b) ū: brū brew, kru crew, rū rue, t/ū chew.
- 2. ME. eu = OE. w appears as u: t/uzdi Tuesday.
- 3. ME. eu or  $\bar{v}v = OE$ .  $\bar{v}v$  appears as  $u\bar{s}$  before r in  $stfu\bar{s}rd$  steward.

# Early ME. ou.

§ 48. Early ME. ou seems to have existed in the basis of the Adlington dialect, only to a limited extent. It has become late ME. ou, cp. § 49; and late ME. ou (spelt ou), cp. § 42. 3.

In other cases where it may be expected ME.  $\bar{\sigma}$  takes its place, cp. § 40. 1. d.

# ME. qu.

- § 49. 1. ME. ou appears as ō.
- a) ME.  $\varrho u = \text{OE. } \bar{a} + w$ :  $bl\bar{b}$  to blow,  $kr\bar{b}$  erow,  $m\bar{b}$  mow,  $n\bar{b}$  know,  $r\bar{b}$  row (sb.),  $sl\bar{b}$  slow,  $sn\bar{b}$  snow.
- b) ME.  $\varrho u = \text{OE. } \tilde{a} + g$ :  $l\tilde{o}$  low (adj.),  $\tilde{o}$  owe,  $\tilde{o}n$  own.
  - c) ME.  $\varrho u = OE$ . a + w;  $b\bar{o}$  thaw (also  $b\bar{\varrho}$ ).

- d) ME.  $\rho u$ , for early ME.  $\rho u = OE$ .  $\bar{\rho} + w$ : flow,  $gr\bar{\rho}$  grow,  $r\bar{\rho}$  to row.
  - e) ME.  $\varrho u = OE$ . o + g:  $b\bar{o}$  bow (sb.).
  - 2. ME. qu appears as oū.
- a) ME.  $\rho u$  from  $o(\bar{o}) + ht$ : bout bought, brout brought, doubter daughter, fout fought, pout thought (prt.).
- b) ME.  $\varrho u = OE$ .  $\bar{a} + ht$ : noāt nothing, oāt aught, ought.
  - c) ME.  $\varrho u = OE$ .  $\bar{a} + w$ : soul soul.
  - d) ME.  $\varrho u = OE$ . u: fould-dər shoulder.

Note. ME. qu has been assumed here, but we have also  $\int u dd$ -dər from the usual ME. schulder.

- e) ME.  $\varrho u = OE$ .  $\bar{\varrho} h$ : tough (also tof and tuf).
- f) ME.  $\varrho u = OE. o + g$ : flown flown.
- 3. ME. ough appears as of.
- a) ME.  $\rho u = \text{OE. } o, \bar{o} + g, h, hh$ : kof cough, tof tough (see above 2. e), trof trough (rarely  $tro\bar{u}f$ ).
  - b) ME.  $\varrho u = OE$ .  $\bar{a} + g$ : dof dough.

# B. The French Element.

## AF. a.

§ 50. 1. AF. a appears as a.

a) AF. a in open syllables, unaccented in AF.: alom alum, balons balance, banor banner, baril barrel, batl battle, damidz damage, dragon dragon, egzaminor examiner, favor resemble, galon gallon, gramor grammar, gravl gravel, kari carry, karidz carriage, kjapl front covering of a clog, makoril mackerel, maridz marriage, mator matter, pantri pantry, papor paper, parif parish, satin satin, talont talent, tlarit claret, tfapl chapel, tfaptor chapter, vali valley, value.

- b) AF. a in closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: admiral admiral, advent advent, fason fashion, kats and kjats catch, lantern lantern, mantl mantle, paster pasture, pasen passion, tatsin-end shoemaker's waxed thread for stitching boots (ME. tachen), trans trance, tsampien champion.
- c) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: advans advance, ant aunt, blayk blank (Engl.?), branf branch, dimand demand, gafər owner, head, graft graft, grant grant, kap and kjap cap, lamp lamp, pas pass, sampl sample, taks and tajks, tax, tfans chance, tfant chant.
  - 2. AF. a appears as ē.
- a) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: bēsn basin, bēkn bacon, fēvər favour, lēbər labour, nētər nature, nēvi navy, pēpər paper (also papər, see 1. a), pētnt patent.
- b) In open syllables, accented in AF.: bēl bale, blēm blame, dēts dates, ēbl able, ēdz age, engēdz engage, fēm fame, fēs face, flēm flame, grēv grave, kēdz cage, kēv cave, lēs lace, pēdz page, pēl pale, plēs place, plēt plate, rēt rate, spēs space, stēbl stable, stēdz stage, tēbl table, trēs trace, wēdz wage.
- c) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: ēndzəl angel, kēs case, pēst paste, plēstər plaster, strēnz strange, tēst taste, tjēmbər chamber, tjēnz change, wēst waste.
- d) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: dendar danger.
- 3. AF. a before  $r + \cos$  appears as ä: ärtfər archer, bärber barber, bärgin bargain, därt dart, gärd guard, gärdin garden, gärtər garter (also gjärd etc.), kärpintər carpenter, kwärt quart, kwärtər quarter, märbl marble (also märvl), pärliment parliament, pärsl parcel, pärt part, riwärd reward, skärlət scarlet, tjärdz charge.

Note. As for a before r + vowel, see above 1. a.

- 4. AF. a appears as  $\bar{q}$ :  $b\bar{q}$  ball (also  $b\bar{o}$ ),  $d_{\bar{q}}\bar{q}mz$  jambs,  $f\bar{q}s$  false,  $\bar{q}rmrik$  almanac; cp. § 16. 2 b. 30. 3.
  - 5. AF. a appears as o: olter altar.

Note that the l is retained.

- 6. AF. a appears as  $a\bar{\imath}$  before  $f: fa\bar{\imath}f$  to anger,  $fa\bar{\imath}f \circ n$  fashion,  $pa\bar{\imath}f \circ n$  passion (see 1. b).
  - 7. AF. a appears as e: endairn andiron (pop. Etym.).

# AF. e, e.

- § 51. 1. AF. ę, e appears in closed syllables as e.
- a) In syllables accented in AF.: aksept accept, arest arrest, difend defend, difens defence, direkt direct, dzem gem, eksepson exception, emporor emperor, entor enter, ofens offence, otemt attempt, ifekt effect, komens commence, konsent consent, kwestson question, lekson election, let-tor letter, membor member, mend mend, menson mention, pek peck, pen pen, penson pension, rikwest request, sentons sentence, spend spend, tempor temper, tent tent, to attend to, testor tester, trembl tremble, tses chess, tsenut chesnut.
- b) In syllables, unaccented in AF.: dzentl gentle, endzēe enjoy, engēdz engage, entair entire, entātl entitle, envilop envelope, lesn lesson, pensl pencil, plenti plenty.

Note. The prefix en- is accented in the foregoing words.

- c) In open syllables: treble treble.
- 2. AF.  $\tilde{e}$  before r + cons.
- a) In accented syllables we have  $\alpha$ )  $\vec{a}$ ,  $\beta$ )  $\vec{a}$ ,  $\gamma$ ) a:
- α) ärb herb (also järb), närv nerve, tlärk clerk, särv serve.
  - β) pärts perch.
  - 7) war war.
  - b) In syllables, unaccented in AF. we have a:

pärtridz partridge, särmen sermon, särvent servant, värni, varnish.

- 3. AF. e appears as et before tf: prettf preach.
- 4. AF. e appears as w: bws beasts, kriem cream.
- 5. AF. e appears as ē: dēsnt decent.
- 6. AF. e appears as a: nati neat.
- 7. AF. e before nasals gives i: indzən engine, fimi chemise, tfimbli chimney.

# AF. e (including central Fr. ie, ue).

- § 52. 1. AF. e appears as 7:
- a) AF. e from lat. a: digri degree.
- b) AF. e for central Fr. ie: mistsif mischief, prs piece.
- c) AF. e for central Fr. ue: bīf beef.
- 2. AF. e before r appears as a) to, b) ais.
- a) spier appear, fiers fierce, pier pier, ther clear.
- b) kwaisr choir, skwaisr squire, umpaisr umpire.
- 3. AF. e appears as e in syllables unaccented in AF.: dezərt desert, dzenərəl general, feznt pheasant, medisn medicine, meməri memory, mezər measure, metl metal, preznt present (adj.), rebl rebel, sekənd second, selər cellar, tenənt tenant, trezər treasure, velvit velvet.

#### AF. i.

- § 53. 1. AF. i appears as ā.
- a) In open syllables, accented in AF.: advās advice, advərtaz advertise, bāble bible, disāpl disciple, eksərsāz exercise, fān fine, intlān incline, krām crime, lān line, nās nice, prās price, prāz prize, rās rice, sādər cider, sāziz assizes.
- b) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: dāmənd diamond, kwāt quiet, lāsns licence, pālət pilot, sāləns silence.

c) In closed syllables for  $i + \tilde{n}$ : rizān resign. sān sign.

Note. In some of these words there is a rarer pron. with ae e. g. krāem crime. Cp. § 39. 2 and 2 below.

2. AF. i appears as āe: arāev arrive, krāe cry, magpāe magpie, risāet recite, tāegər tiger, əblāedz oblige.

In syllables unaccented in AF.: āevri ivory (also āvri), māenər miner, pāerət pirate, tlāemət climate.

Note. All these words except «ivory» are little used in the dialect. Otherwise we should have expected the vowel a. Cp. § 1 above.

- 3. AF. i appears as i.
- a) In closed syllables, accented in AF .: prints prince, ritf rich, simpl simple.
- b) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: pil to peel. In ME. there was some confusion between peler to strip, and piller to plunder; rilidges religious.
- c) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: figor figure, finish, liker liquor, minit minute, piti pity, prizn prison, vizit visit.
- 4. AF. i appears as aio: dzaiont giant, laion lion, raist riot.
  - 5. AF. i before r appears as a)  $\ddot{a}$ , b)  $\sigma$ , c)  $\sigma$ :
  - a) märikl miracle (also mərikl).
  - b) mərikl miracle, spərit spirit.
  - c) ŏrt/ənt hedgehog, sori sirrah.

Note. For this i before r cp.  $\S$  31. 2 and  $\S$  34. 2.

- 6. AF. i appears as e: rens rince.
- 7. AF. i appears as ov: dzovsiz joists (generally used in the pl.). A less common pron. is dząesiz.

## AF. o.

§ 54. 1. AF. o appears as o.

- a) AF.  $\varrho$  in open syllables: grösər grocer, nöbl noble, nöt note, səpöz suppose, tlök cloak, trön throne.
- b) AF.  $\bar{q}$  in closed syllables: brotf brooch, divors divorce, protf approach, kost coast, post post, rost roast, tost toast.
  - 2. AF. o appears as o.
- a) AF.  $\varrho$  in closed syllables, accented in AF.: spost apostle, lodg lodge, moti insolence (Fr. mot?), rob rob.
- b) In open syllable, accented in AF.: proper proper.
- c) In closed syllable, unaccented in AF.: offs office.
- d) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: losindz lozenge, oner honour, onist honest, os to offer, attempt (Fr. oser?), promis promise.
- 3. AF.  $\rho$  before r in accented syllables appears as a)  $\bar{\rho}$ , b)  $\bar{\rho}$ , c) o (cp. 4 below).
- a) divors divorce, dlori glory, fordz forge, fors force, pork pork (rarely puerk), porter porter, ports porch, stor store, stori story.
- b): förfit forfeit, förm form, körd cord, körner corner, mörter mortar, örder order.
  - c): sort sort.

It is noteworthy that only one of these words appears with a variant pronunciation  $u_{\bar{\nu}}$ . Cp. the native English words § 41. 2.

- 4. AF.  $\rho$  before r in syllables unaccented in AF. appears as a)  $\bar{\rho}$ , b) o, c)  $\bar{\sigma}$ .
- a): fortin fortune, morsel, ordinari ordinary, orgin organ.
  - b): forist forest.
  - c): dlōriəs glorious (influenced by dlōri).

5. AF.  $\varrho + l$  appears as oū: roūl roll, soūd-dzər soldier.

Notice that the l in roul is not dropped, perhaps owing to the influence of the lit. language. Cp. § 33. 3 and § 55. 6.

- 6. AF. o appears as a: fa fool.
- 7. AF. o appears as ua: kuat coat, puark pork (usually pork, ep. 3. a).
  - 8. AF. o appears as ut before f: brutf brush.

## AF. u.

- § 55. 1. AF. u appears as u.
- a) In open syllables, accented in AF .: buzort butterfly, dubl double, grudz grudge, kuk-ku cuckoo, kupl couple, trubl trouble, tut/ touch.
- b) In closed syllables, accented in AF .: gum gum, number number, plundz plunge, spundz sponge, sum sum, trump trump, trunk trunk.
- c) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: butler butler, butfor butcher, kulor colour, truk truck, dealings.
- d) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF .: kumfort comfort, kumpni company, kuntri country, pulpit pulpit.
  - 2. AF. u appears as  $\bar{e}$ .
- a) In open syllables, accented in AF.: det doubt, gēn gown, krēn crown (der. krēnər coroner), pēdər or pēdər powder, pēts pouch, sēnd sound.
- b) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: ens ounce, əkēnt account, əmēnt amount, kēnt count, pēns pounce, pronens pronounce, rend round.
- c) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: kēnsil council, kēnti county, mēntin mountain, fēntin fountain.
- 3. AF. u before r appears as ā: ār hour, flar flower, flour, tär tower.

4. AF. u before r + cons. gives:

u: pus purse.

ē: kērtis and kērtsi curtsy, pē paw, tērn turn.

ua: kuart court.

5: distorb disturb (also distorb), dzorni journey.

- 5. AF. u appears as ū: lūvər chimney (AF. l'ouvert, ME. lovər), pǔt pullet.
- 6. AF. u appears as on before l: bon to bowl (Fr. boule). The genuine English word bonl bowl (OE. bolla) has preserved the l. See Sweet HES. § 884 and NED. poultri poultry.

#### AF. ü.

- § 56. 1. AF. "appears as u: dzudz judge, dzust just. umbl humble.
- 2. AF.  $\ddot{u}$  appears as  $(j)\ddot{u}$ , j being dropped after l, r, and s, and amalgamated with a preceding  $d > d\vec{s}$ :  $j\ddot{u}z$  to use,  $ekskj\ddot{u}z$  excuse,  $rifj\ddot{u}z$  refuse,  $dl\ddot{u}$  glue, rud rude,  $purs\ddot{u}$  pursue,  $dz\ddot{u}k$  duke.
  - 3. AF. ii before r appears as

(j)us: pjust pure, kjust cure, fust sure.

o: ort hurt.

- 4. AF. ii appears as ju: jus use (sb.).
- 5. AF. # in syllables unaccented in AF., but accented in A. appears as

jā: jāmər humour, mjāzik music.

u: puni/ punish.

ui: kruil cruel.

## AF. ü, üi < Old French üi.

§ 57. 1. AF.  $\ddot{u}i$  appears as  $(j)\ddot{u}$ , j being dropped after r, and s:  $pj\ddot{u}$  pew,  $nj\ddot{u}s\partial ns$  nuisance (in AF. unaccented),  $fr\ddot{u}t$  fruit,  $s\ddot{u}t$  suit (rarely  $\int \ddot{u}t$ ).

2. AF. iii appears as or: orl oil, orster oyster (rarer āel, āester).

## AF. ai, ei.

- § 58. These diphthongs are treated together in consequence of their falling together in ME.
  - 1. AF. ai, ei = ME. ai appears as  $\bar{e}$ .
- a) In open syllables: bitrē betray, dilē delay, disēt deceit, disēv deceive, dizēz disease, fēl fail, fēħ faith, grēn grain, grēs grease, kəmplēn complain, kənsēt conceit, kē quay, mē May, pē pay, plēn plain, prē pray, prēz praise, rimēn remain, tlēm claim, trēt treat, tfēn chain (also tfīən), vēl veil, vēn vein, wēt wait.
  - b) In closed syllables: fent faint, pent paint.
- c) In syllables unaccented in AF.: bumbēli bailiff, sēzn season, tēlər tailor.
- 2. AF. ai, ei, later  $\bar{e} = \text{ME}$ .  $\bar{e}$  (cp. § 37. 1) appears as  $\bar{\imath}_{\bar{e}}$ :  $\bar{\imath}_{\bar{e}}$  easy,  $pl\bar{\imath}_{\bar{e}}$  please,  $r\bar{\imath}_{\bar{e}}$  reins,  $t/\bar{\imath}_{\bar{e}}$  chain,  $t/\bar{\imath}_{\bar{e}}$  chair.
  - 3. AF. ei > e appears as  $\bar{\imath}$ :  $p\bar{\imath}s$  peace.
  - 4. AF. ei appears as eī: deīn dean.
- 5. AF. ai, ei before r appear as  $\bar{\sigma}$ :  $\bar{\sigma}$ r air,  $f\bar{\sigma}$ r fair; m $\bar{\sigma}$ r mayor,  $pr\bar{\sigma}$ r prayer have received the accent; but note  $t/\bar{\tau}$  chair (see 2. above).
  - 6. AF. ei appears as a: plat plait.
  - 7. AF. ai appears as ē: mēstər master.

## AF. au.

- § 59. 1. AF. au appears as ō: bikōz because.
- 2. AF. au = lat. a + l, before cons., appears as  $\bar{q}$ :  $f\bar{q}t$  fault,  $k\bar{q}k\partial r$  coker (pieces of brass or tin used for protecting the fronts of clogs),  $k\bar{q}s\partial$  causeway,  $sc\bar{q}d$  scald.

3. AF. au = lat. a + l, before cons., appears as  $\bar{e}$  in  $s\bar{e}f$  safe,  $s\bar{e}v$  save.

Note. These two words were monophthongised in ME. and then developed like  $\bar{e}f$  half. Cp. § 30. 7. See Luick, Anglia XVI. 474.

4. AF. au appears as a: savid savage. The syllable being unaccented in AF. accounts for the development being different from that in 2. or 3. above.

## AF. oi, ui.

- § 60. 1. AF. oi, ui from all sources appear as oi: noiz noise, thois choice, vois voice; boil boil, dzoin join, dzoint joint, point point, soil soil, spoil spoil, poizn poison.
- 2. AF. ui appears as uī: buīfal bushel, kuīfan cushion (also kufan).
- 3. AF. oi appears as ou: kou to scrape together (AF. coiller).
  - 4. AF. oi, ui appears as ui: ruin ruin, suit suet.

# Chapter IV.

# Vowels in Unaccented Syllables.

## 1. Weak Word Stress.

a) a.

§ 61. a has generally arisen from back vowels and er.

a) In initial syllables, followed by the principal accent: əbēt about, əgēt in action, at work, əgrī agree, fərged forget, təmērn tomorrow; but — ridzéstər register, spetékls spectacles, fuərli surely, kontrö'ri contrary.

b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent: bulðk bullock, buzərt butterfly, dzöndərz jaundice, galəp gallop, kesməs and krisməs Christmas, koləp slice of bacon, kösə causeway, kubərd and kubərt cupboard, kustərt custard, lēlək lilac (also lēluk), mustərt mustard, öləz always, sakləs silly, foolish, stərəp and stürep stirrup, siðərs scissors, ulərt owl, undərt hundred, wində window.

· arə arrow, barə barrow, folə follow, jarə yarrow, jalə yellow, narə narrow, pilə pillow, sparə sparrow, swalə swallow, fadə shadow, falə shallow, talə tallow, wilə willow.

bled-dər bladder, but-tər butter, feðər father, gondər gander, geðər gather, oðər either, omər hammer, futər to slide down, wetər water.

nētər nature, pastər pasture, piktər picture, plēstər plaster, mezər measure, plezər pleasure.

In compounds: bakərt backward, forət, forəd forward, ōkərt awkward, ōpəþ halfpennyworth, penəþ pennyworth, tōrt towards, sumət somewhat (also sumut).

## b) i.

- a) In initial syllables followed by the principal accent: disēt deceit, disēv deceive.
- b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent: ārvist harvest, blaykit blanket, bulit bullet, revit rivet, redif radish.

bārli barley, bali belly, bēli bailiff, bāri to bury, berry, bodi body, nōbri nobody, boni bonny, mēzi dizzy, emti empty, eīvi heavy, ori hurry, moni many, ōpni halfpenny, peni penny, sili silly, slipi slippery, wāri worry, wagin waggon.

fårðin farthing, kumin coming and in all words which in the literary language end in -ing.

#### c) Loss of Vowel or Syllable.

- a) Initial syllables followed by the principal accent: baks tobacco, bēt without, konsmāzer economiser, kās because, laisns alliance, list enlist, liver deliver, lotments allotments, lousns a tip for a drink, prentis apprentice, sālsm asylum, sāziz assizes, tās entice.
- b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent: kumpni company, nöbri nobody, opop halfpennyworth, penop pennyworth, reglor regular, sumbri somebody.

l and n are vocalic as in English in andl handle, kandl candle, fasn fasten.

#### 2. Weak Sentence Stress.

§ 62. The following words have weak forms caused by the sentence accent. Others are given in the accidence.

The auxiliary verb have ev, e,  $\vartheta$  is often omitted entirely: a fon id I have found it.

a I: a sarnd I shall not.

abst ves but.

am I am: am nod guin I am not going.

bi 1) be: al bi ðiar I will be there.

2) by: bi ne by now.

bin been.

bad but.

-d 1) had: ad I had.

2) would: id e to du he would have to do.

daz, das does, dost, das ta? dost thou?

e, en, ev have: led im e tām let him have time. en jə ani? have you any?

ez, es has, hast: es fon it? have you found it?

- o 1) a, an: o nās lot a nice lot. o ap-po an apple.
  - 2) have: ad a gon wum I should have gone home.

- 3) in, on, at: a dad rod in that way.
- 4) of: a paif a water a quantity of water.

ed would: id ed tek e lot it would take a lot.

- on 1) and: im on mī he and I.
  - 2) one: id war a gud an it was a good one.
- 22 1) as = 'as' and 'that' (cj.): a nod 22 a kud I knew that I could.
  - 2) as = 'who, whom': im əz ða sīd him, whom you saw.
  - 3) us.

for for.

fra from.

i in: i tām in time.

into into.

iz, is his: is feder his father. is is used before voiceless consonants.

ja ye, you.

jer you are.

kad could.

kn can.

-l will: al I will.

mi me, my, may: giv id mi give it me.

mit, met might.

men, mn must.

-n have: win sin id we have seen it.

nor nor.

- -s 1) us (after voiceless cons.): les bi of let us be off.
  - 2) shall: as nod I shall not.

fårnd shall not.

sa so.

·f, fod should: af piyk so I should think so.

she.

t the. (See chap. on pronunciation.)

to thou: wil to? will you?

đi thy, they, thee.

-v have: wiv wun we have won (see n above).
wa why. The unaccented form of wā, wāe.

- war 1) our: its war on it is our own.
  - 2) we are.
  - 3) was, were.
- wii 1) with.
  - 2) we.

wis we shall.

- -z 1) is: 7z he is.
  - 2) has, hast: īz he has. đaz thou hast.

# Chapter V.

## The Consonants.

## 1. Semivowels.

ME. w.

§ 63. 1. Initially.

- a) ME. w has remained before vowels: wāp wipe, war war, wārk work, wēt wait.
- b) ME. w has remained in the combination tw, sw, dw, qu [kw], hw: twelv twelve, dwdrf dwarf, swim swim, kwin queen, witf which. Exceptions: tū two, sō so, uo, u who.
- c) ME. w has disappeared in the combination wr: rāt write, rupg wrong.
- d) A w has appeared in certain words with ME.  $\bar{\varrho}$ :  $w\bar{\varrho}l$  whole, won one, wons once, wuts oats (rare, the usual pronunciation being usts), wum home.

Note. This w has developed in the following way. The ME. open  $\bar{\rho}$  was diphthongised, owing to excessive lip rounding, at first to the falling diphthongs  $u\bar{\rho}$ ,  $u\bar{\rho}$ . These were then developed to the rising diphthong  $u\bar{\rho}$ ,  $u\bar{\mu}$  which then gave the initial w. won one and wons once are apparently borrowed from the lit. language at a later period or else we should have had  $w\bar{\rho}n$  as in  $w\bar{\rho}l$  whole. (See Luick, Untersuchungen, § 47 ff., 85 ff., 140 ff., 210 ff.) There is sometimes a variant pron. to  $u\bar{\mu}m$  home viz.  $u\bar{\rho}m$ , which is, however, not common and is from other dialects. The w does not appear in  $\bar{\rho}nli$  only but Edwin Waugh writes it one-ly. What his pron. was I do not know. As a matter of fact the A. people use the word bud but more often than  $\bar{\rho}nli$ .

- 2. Medially.
- a) ME.  $w + \text{final vowel have become } \vartheta$  after consonants:  $med\vartheta$  meadow,  $wid\vartheta$  widow.
- b) ME. w has disappeared at the beginning of unaccented syllables, chiefly in words compounded with -ward: ansor answer, bakorts backwards, forod forward, grunsl groundsel, oloz always, ēkert awkward, penop pennyworth, sumet something, tērt towards.

## ME. 3, y, [j].

- § 64. 1. ME. z, y appears unchanged: jell yell, jör year, jon yonder, jung young.
- 2. ME. 3, y appears as g: giv give, gift gift, forged forget.
- 3. We have j in the dialect in a few words from AF.  $\ddot{u}$ :  $j\ddot{u}z$  to use,  $pju\partial r$  pure,  $mj\ddot{u}zik$  music.

## 2. Liquids.

#### ME. Z.

§ 65. 1. ME. *l* has remained unchanged initially, medially and finally: *lam* lamb, *lon* lane, *elp* help, *flet*/ flesh, *kulər* colour, *kruil* cruel, *tel* tell.

2. ME. *l* has disappeared finally and before *f*, *v*, *m*, *s*, *t*, *d*, *k*: *ap-po* apple, *fō* fall, *fū* fool, *kō* call, *smō* small, *bōd* bald, *ōf* half, *ēv* halve, *samən* salmon, *fōs* cunning, *koūt* colt, *foūd* fold, *oūd* old, *fōk* folk. (For other examples, see § 33. 3 and 41. 3.)

Note. There has apparently never been an l in the dialect forms  $f\bar{\varrho}t$  fault,  $m\bar{\varrho}t$  moult.

#### ME. r.

- § 66. 1. ME. r has remained unchanged in all positions: rāv to tear, rēn rain, rēnd round, bāri to bury, kwārt quart, mārikl miracle, fēðər father, for for, pər pair.
- 2. ME. r + s has become ss > s in: bust burst (also brast), kus curse, fust first, wus worse, wustid worsted, qs horse.

Note that we have  $u\partial s$  hoarse, where the r has evidently never been inserted.

- 3. r has been added on in provinder provender.
- 4. r is retained in certain cases where it has undergone metathesis in the lit. language: brid bird, brun burn, krudz curds, skruf scurf, underd hundred.

#### 3. Nasals.

#### ME. m.

- § 67. 1. ME. m has generally remained unchanged in all positions: mēntin mountain, mān moon, gami lame, tumbl tumble, krum crumb, rām room.
  - 2. mt has become nt: ant ant.

Note. m is sometimes used by children to replace a w in the pronoun we: mer we are, mi färnd we shall not.

#### ME. n.

- § 68. 1. ME. n has usually remained unchanged in all positions: nati neat, nīt night, nētor nature, ant aunt, kandl candle, nēn noun, opn open, sevn seven. Note also don to put on, lan lend, olin holly.
- 2. ME. n has disappeared finally after l, m: kil kiln; dam damn, im hymn, ōtom autumn.
- 3. ME. n has disappeared before s in unaccented syllables: o(t)sted instead, Robinson, Robinson, Robinson.
- 4. ME. n has disappeared initially in: epron apron, umpaior umpire.
- 5. An n has been inserted in an occasional pronunciation of the word sosindzər sausage. For further examples of this insertion of n in lit. Eng. see Jespersen, Eng. Studien 31, 239 ff.

#### ME. y.

§ 69. ME. y has remained unchanged: finger, lunger longer, bring bring, tungz tongs, pink think, sunk sunk.

Note. y has become n in unaccented syllables:  $f \ddot{a} r \dot{\sigma} i n$  arthing, runin running etc.

## 4. Labials.

## ME. p.

§ 70. 1. ME. p has remained, as a rule, in all positions: pad path,  $p\bar{e}$  pay, pot pot, api happy, tfaptor chapter, dolop a lump of dirt, kup cup, lamp lamp.

Note. p has never developed to b in kopweb cobweb.

2. ME. p has been dropped between m and t, and assimilated to a following b: emti empty, temt tempt, kubərt cupboard, razbri raspberry.

3. p is sometimes pronounced as b in babtāz baptize, perhaps owing to confusion with babi baby.

Note. See § 126 on gemination.

#### ME. b.

§ 71. 1. ME. b has generally remained in all positions: bab bath, batl battle, bridg bridge, abit habit, bogort ghost, tebl table, gab impudence, web web.

Note that b is retained in gimblit gimlet.

2. ME. medial mb is retained, but in final mb the b is dropped: number number, trembl tremble, pimbl thimble; kām comb, lam lamb, tlām climb. sumdi somebody has been influenced by the lit. lang. (sumbri is more usual).

Note. See § 126 on gemination.

#### ME. f.

- § 72. 1. ME. f has usually remained in all positions: feder father, flår flower, fleif flesh, ofer offer, difend defend, delf stone quarry, tfif chief, wäf wife.
- 2. ME. f has been dropped in: bēli bailiff, dzoli jolly, ankit/or handkerchief, ōpni halfpenny.
  - 3. ME. f has become v in vat vat.

#### ME. v.

- § 73. 1. ME. v has generally remained in all positions: vēn vain, voīs voice, devl devil, liver liver, river river, wāvz wives, kēv cave, dluv glove, siv sieve.
- 2. ME. v has become f in: fitf vetch, nefju nephew, bilif belief.
- 3. ME. v has been dropped in: e have, gin given, ar ever, nar never, or over, puor poor, and in the present and the imperative gi give. (But also giv, especially before a vowel.)

#### 5. Dentals.

#### ME. t.

- § 74. 1. ME. t has generally remained in all positions: tām time, tēm tame, tēbl table, piti pity, bāt bite, feīt fight, gift gift, kumfərt comfort.
- 2. ME. t before r, or a syllable containing r appears as t: trap tripe, trembl tremble, tri tree, bu(t)tor butter, tfaptor chapter,  $w\bar{e}tor$  water.

Note. Most of the words with t are also sometimes pronounced with p, although the former pron. is the usual one. In the ME. nosepirles we have also nostrilz and nosprilz. For a similar development of ME. d see § 75, 3.

- 3. ME. t has been dropped between s, f and l, m, n: prosl thrush, rosl wrestle, wisl whistle, krismas Christmas, fasn fasten, sofn soften, but oftn often (rarely used, and no doubt influenced by the spelling).
- 4. ME. t has been assimilated to a preceding s in the plurals bros beasts, krusiz crusts (also krus, krusts), and in the Singular and Plural dzors joist, dzorsiz joists.
- 5. t has been added on in: feznt pheasant, vizort visor and in few words after an s: ōrst hearse, twāst twice, wonst once (also twās, wons); cp. Mod. Éng. against, amidst, whilst etc. and Cockney acrost.
  - 6. ME. t appears as d.
- a) At the end of many short words: bud but, ged get, id it, led let, pud put, dad that, wod what etc.
- b) In the corresponding present parts: gedin getting, ledin letting, pudin putting.
  - c) In the romanic word damund diamond.
- 7. ME. t appears as r in pretag potatoes and occasionally in verbal forms ending in t preceded

by a short vowel, when the next word begins with a vowel. The t probably became d (see examples in 6 above) and then through lack of stress it developed to r (cp. intervocalic d > r in § 75. 4). But the r is not so frequent in the A. dialect as in some of the neighbouring dialects, and the d forms are always the more frequent. See Ellis, EEP. vol. v. p. 420.

gär up get up, lär im let him, pur id den put it down. Also in wor? what?

8. ME. t before "appears as tf in the French loanwords fornitfor furniture, fortfon fortune. But note networ nature, pastor pasture.

#### ME. d.

- § 75. 1. ME. d has generally remained in all positions: damidį damage, dē day, dubl double, medism medicine, nīdl needle, sadle saddle, dlad glad, gud good, rād ride, sād side.
- 2. ME. d between vowel and -er has become  $\tilde{\sigma}$ : faðer father, gaðer gather, muðer mother, weðer weather. But we have  $p\bar{e}der$  and  $p\bar{e}\tilde{\sigma}r$  powder, and dider, diðer to shiver.
- 3. ME. initial d before r, and d after consonant + -er have generally become d: dragon dragon, drāv drive, drēn drown, drop drop, bled-dər bladder, lad-dər ladder, tfildər children, undərd hundred, wundər wonder (also tfildər, undərd, wunder).

Note 1.  $m\bar{q}r\bar{\theta}er$  murder has evidently never developed a d in the dialect.

Note 2. From the foregoing it would appear that all d's before r in the dialect have a tendency to develop to  $\theta$ . In 2 we have a number of words, which as in lit. Eng. really have developed d to  $\theta$ , and in 3 a number, part of which have two pronunciations,

viz. d and d, and part of which have as yet only d. The stages are thus perhaps d > d > d.

- 4. Intervocalic d in unaccented syllables has become r in: anibri anybody, nobri nobody, symbri somebody.
- 5. ME. d has become t in many preterites and past participles: akst asked, lūkt looked, taiərt tired, fēft shaved, wit/ərt wet-shod. For other examples see Verbs.

Note. Occasionally fild field is pronounced filt.

- 6. ME. d after n, has disappeared by assimilation, before a following consonant, and finally: ansom handsome, ansor answer, bran in bran-new, granfeðor grandfather, grunsl groundsel, lanlord landlord, bēn bound, compelled, fun, fon found, grun ground (vb.), wun wound (vb.).
- 7. d after n, has been added on, like in lit. English, in: dzēndərz jaundice, sēnd sound.

Note. d has never been inserted in  $b\bar{e}n$ , bound, about, going: wor(t)  $b\bar{e}n$  (t)du what are you going to do; and in lan lend, punr thunder.

See § 126 on gemination.

## ME. th, p, [b].

- § 76. 1. ME. p has generally remained unchanged:  $p\bar{\imath}f$  thief,  $p\bar{\imath}\eta k$  think,  $p\bar{\varrho}rn$  thorn,  $ba\bar{p}$  bath,  $m\bar{e}\bar{p}$  mouth,  $tu\bar{p}$  tooth.
- 2. ME. p in pronoun stems has become  $\tilde{\sigma}$ :  $\tilde{\sigma}a$  thou, thy,  $\tilde{\sigma}i$  thee,  $\tilde{\sigma}e$  they,  $\tilde{\sigma}is$  this,  $\tilde{\sigma}ad$  that,  $\tilde{\sigma}uz$  those.
- Note 1. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. Sing. of the pers. pron. used interrogatively and unemphatically we have t: es-to? hast thou? will to? will thou?; but will  $\partial \bar{a}$ ? wilt thou?
- Note 2. Here may be mentioned the (t) corresponding to the definite article in modern English. It is called by Wright (Windhill Dialect) »suspended t«. (See pron. Chap. I.) Before consonants

we have (t):  $d\bar{\varrho}n$  (t)  $l\bar{\varrho}n$  down the lane, i(t)  $t\bar{\varrho}n$  in the town. Before vowels the the is prefixed to the following word and loses its e. It preserves the original voiceless sound:  $\bar{\varrho}\bar{\varrho}f$  the half,  $\bar{\varrho}o\bar{u}d$  t/ap the old man,  $\bar{\varrho}o\bar{u}l$  won the only one.

This (t) also appears instead of other unstressed words: idl e (t) du it will have to do, är(t) güin? art thou going?

- 3. ME. p has become d: pad path.
- 4. ME. p has disappeared before w in: wak to beat severely, witl to cut away.

#### ME. th, b, [8].

- § 77. 1. ME. p [ $\vartheta$ ] has remained medially and finally:  $bru\vartheta ar$  brother,  $f dr \vartheta in$  farthing,  $n \vartheta \vartheta ar$  neither,  $b \varrho \vartheta \vartheta$  bathe,  $b r \vartheta \vartheta$  breathe,  $s \varrho \vartheta \vartheta$  scythe,  $s m \varrho \vartheta \vartheta$  smooth, but  $b u \varrho \vartheta \varrho \vartheta$  both.
- 2. ME.  $p[\delta] + es$  has become ps: baps baths, smips smiths, munps months, tlops cloths.
  - 3. ME. p [8] has become d: fidl fiddle.
  - 4. ME. p [d] has been dropped in thuz clothes.

## 6. Sibilants.

## ME. s.

- § 78. 1. ME. s has generally remained initially, medially before voiceless consonants, and finally: sand sand, sarkl circle, sarmon sermon, sot salt, speik speak, ston stone, stro straw, fasn fasten, kēnsil council, musl muscle, rosl wrostle, lesn lesson, mēsn mason, fēs face, gīs geese, kis kiss, mēs mouse, voīs voice.
- 2. ME. medial s before voiced consonants and when in OE. and AF. it was between vowels appears as z: bīzəm besom, biznis business, feznt pheasant, frozn frozen, prizn prison, vizit visit, uzbund husband.
- 3. ME. s when it is final, after voiced cons. and vowels or has become final in consequence

of the end -e not being pronounced appears as z, z: bedz beds, fīldz fields, penz pens, dēz days, duz does, ēziz houses, prēz praise, lōz lose, tſīz cheese, tluzz clothes.

- 4. ME. s + e, i before vowel appears as f: fuər sure, fugər sugar, mifən mission, nēfən nation, spefəl special, menfən mention, and sometimes in kwefən question (usually kwestfən).
- 5. ME. s + e, i before vowel appears as z: megər measure (also mezər), plezər pleasure.
- 6. ME. s has been dropped, as in lit. English, where it has been mistaken for a plural ending: per pea, ridl riddle, tfäri cherry.

#### ME. sch, sh [š].

- § 79. 1. ME. sch, sh [š] appear in all positions as f: fada shadow, fip ship, fut shut,  $bu\bar{\imath}fl$  bushel,  $fle\bar{\imath}f$  flesh,  $wa\bar{\imath}f$  (wash),  $w\bar{\imath}f$  wish.
  - 2. ME. sch has become s: es-midin ash-pit.

# ME. ch [tš].

- § 80. 1. ME. ch [tš] appears in all positions as tf: tfap chap, tfin chain, tfik cheek, tfik chalk, tfortf church, butfor butcher, bitf bitch, bleītf bleach, dātf and ditf ditch, latf latch, ritf rich, watf watch, sītf seek.
- 2. ME. lch [ltś], nch [ntś] have remained as ltf, ntf: beltf belch, bentf bench, brantf branch, intf inch. But the pron. with lf, nf is just as frequent, and has of course come from the lit language.
- 3. ME. ch appears sometimes as dz, sometimes as tf. We have dz in: kärtridz cartridge, grudz grudge and tf in: kabit cabbage, ostrit ostrich.

## ME. g, j, dge $[d\check{z}]$ .

- § 81. 1. ME. g, j,  $dge [d\tilde{z}]$  appears in all positions as  $d\tilde{z}$ :  $d\tilde{z}enaral$  general,  $d\tilde{z}el$  jail,  $d\tilde{z}o\tilde{z}n$  join,  $d\tilde{z}ud\tilde{z}$  judge,  $ind\tilde{z}an$  engine,  $ed\tilde{z}$  hedge,  $brid\tilde{z}$  bridge,  $wed\tilde{z}$  wedge.
- 2. ME. nge appears as ndz and nz. The only rule that can be laid down is that at the end of words the pron. nz is more frequent, while medially ndz prevails. But the rule is not a hard and fast one: dēndzər, dēnzər danger, strēndz, strēnz strange, indz, inz hinge, krinz cringe, sinz singe.

#### 7. Palatals.

## ME. 3, gh [7].

§ 82. ME. 3, gh [7'] has disappeared, the preceding vowel being lengthened: brit bright, lit light, nit night, rit right, weit weight.

Note. For ME. 3, y /j] see § 64, under the semivowels.

## 8. Gutturals.

#### ME. c, k.

- § 83. 1. ME. c, k appears in all positions in the dialect as k: kon can, koūd cold, krīp creep, kwaliti quality, kwəḍril quadrille, aykər anchor, likər liquor, uykl uncle, bēk bake, bruk brook, mēk and mē make, tek and te take, wēk walk.
- 2. ME. k has disappeared, as in lit. Eng., before n: nāf knife, neīd knead, nī knee, nō know.
  - 3. ME. k has disappeared before 1: musl muscle.
- 4. ME. k has become t before l: tlam, tlem to famish, tlēd cloud, tlīon clean, tlē claw, tlomp to walk

heavily, tlop cloth; kotl cockle, sitl sickle, twintl twinkle, pitlz pickles.

Note. Probably out of confusion with this last group we have an occasional pronunciation of bottle and little as bokl, likl.

5. k has been dropped before -ed in krūt crooked; it is also sometimes dropped in mē to make, te to take.

Note. The k is retained in aks, akst ask, asked in consequence of the metathesis.

- 6. ME. sk = OE. sc before back vowels, Scand. sk, appears as sk: skab scab, skil skill,  $sk\bar{\imath}n$  skin,  $skr\bar{\imath}n$  scurf,  $sk\bar{\imath}a$  school,  $skol\bar{\imath}a$  school. Also finally in ask (ME. barsk) dry, rough = NE. barsh.
- 7. k has become g in bleg-bri blackberry and sometimes in  $blegb\bar{p}rn$  Blackburn.
- 8. Note that differently from the lit. language we have sitf seek and wärtf work in tup-wärtf tooth-ache. See § 80. where ME. tš is treated.

## ME. g.

§ 84. 1. ME. g has generally remained unchanged in all positions: gam fun, goad gold, gras grass, figger finger, wagin waggon, fog fog, leg leg, sigg sing.

Note. For the glide sound before and after g, see Chap. I.

- 2. ME. g has become d before l: dlad glad, dlas glass, dlopnt terrified (Scand.), dlumpi sulky, morose.
  - 3. ME. g has disappeared before n:  $n\bar{\varrho}$  gnaw.

## ME. h.

§ 85. 1. ME. h has generally disappeared: apn happen, ol hole, ot hot, nut nut, wen when, wier where.

Note. The h is sometimes kept when the word is strongly emphasised, just as it is sometimes supplied where in OE. and lit. Eng. it does not exist.

2. ME. h in the group gh has disappeared medially and finally: ett eight, fett fight, ltt light, ntt night, douter daughter, ole hollow, ent enough.

Note. For other examples, see the ME. diphthongs.

- 3. ME h in the group gh is represented in a few words by f: draft draught, kof cough, laf laugh, ruf rough, tuf tough, and occasionally in anuf enough, and pruf through.
- 4. In certain words h has apparently been replaced by j:jarb herb, jed head, juor hair; in others it seems to have been replaced by w:wum home etc. In these cases the h was first dropped; then the initial vowel was diphthongised and the accent shifted. See § 37.1b. 51.2.63.1d.

#### 9. Gemination.

§ 85a. Gemination of consonants occurs to a great extent in the dialect. The consonants most geminated are p, b, t, d, m, k, g.

The most frequent sources of gemination are the pres.-part. termination -in and the terminations -in, -or, and -o (ol). Gemination only occurs after a short syllable.

flit-tin removing, rob-bin robbing, skrat-tin scratching, swap-pin changing, swim-min swimming, but rātin writing, untin hunting.

bled-dər bladder, bob-bər a kind of large marble, bu(t)-tər butter, be(t)-tər better, drum-mər drummer, nok-kər knocker, rub-bər one who rubs, sok-kər a hard blow.

ap-pə apple, kop-pə Coppull (a neighbouring village), top-pin the top (hair) of the head.

But we have bigər bigger, rubər Indiarubber (this latter though is no doubt owing to the influence of the literary language), itin hitting.

#### 10. Metathesis.

§ 85b. Metathesis has not taken place in brid bird, brun to burn, krud curd, skrūf seurf.

# Accidence.

# Chapter VI.

#### Nouns.

## 1. Formation of the plural.

§ 86. a) Plurals in -iz, -z (z), -s.

- 1. Nouns ending in s, f, z, g add iz (iz) to form the plural:  $f\bar{e}s$  face  $f\bar{e}siz$ , las lass lasiz (but  $\bar{e}s$  house  $\bar{e}ziz$ ), watf watch watfiz,  $n\bar{o}z$  nose  $n\bar{o}siz$  (also  $n\bar{o}s$  pl.  $n\bar{o}siz$ ), edg edge edgiz.
- 2. Nouns ending in a vowel or voiced cons. other than z, z add z (z): dē day dez, dluv glove dluvz, dog dog dogz, lad lad ladz (but mēp mouth, pl. mēðz).
- 3. Nouns ending in a voiceless cons. other than s, f, add s: bap bath baps, būk book būks, kap cap kaps, rat rat rats, rūf roof rūfs.
- 4. Nouns ending in f preceded by a vowel which was long in OE. (except  $\bar{u}$ ), and nouns originally ending in lf change the f into v and add z in the plural:  $l\bar{u}f$  life  $l\bar{u}vz$ ,  $l\bar{v}f$  loaf  $l\bar{v}vz$ ,  $n\bar{u}f$  knive  $n\bar{u}vz$ ,  $p\bar{v}f$  thief  $p\bar{v}vz$ ,  $v\bar{u}f$  wife  $v\bar{u}vz$ ,  $p\bar{v}f$  and  $p\bar{v}f$  half  $p\bar{v}vz$  and  $p\bar{v}vz$ ,  $k\bar{v}f$  calf  $k\bar{v}vz$  (but  $u\bar{v}fs$  hoofs,  $v\bar{u}fs$  roofs, stafs staffs, tlifs cliffs).
- b) Plurals in n:i eye in, fa shoe fan.

- c) Plural in -r:

  tfālt child has plural tfildər.
- d) Plurals with Umlaut:  $f\bar{u}t$  foot  $f\bar{\iota}t$ ,  $g\bar{u}s$  goose  $g\bar{\iota}s$ ,  $l\bar{\varrho}s$  louse  $l\bar{u}s$ , mon man men,  $m\bar{\varrho}s$  mouse  $m\bar{u}s$ ,  $t\bar{u}\bar{\varrho}$  tooth  $t\bar{\iota}\bar{\varrho}$ , wumən woman wimin.
- e) Sing. and plur. alike:  $b\bar{\imath}os$  beast, beasts, es ash, ashes, fif fish, fishes,  $f\bar{\imath}p$  sheep.

Nouns expressing time, space, weight, measure and number when preceded by a cardinal number have plural and singular alike: fāv munþ five months, þrī wik three weeks, ten māl ten miles, fōr tun four tons, siks pēnd, ēns six pounds, ounces, fōr skōr four score.

f) Nouns only used in the plural: aksinz banns of marriage, botomz sediment, līts lights or lungs of animals, mēzlz measles, siðorz seissors, trēzorz trousers, tungz tongs.

We have a double plural in galasiz braces.

## 2. Formation of the Genitive.

- § 87. a) The Gen. is formed as in modern English: mi fedərz tlogz my father's clogs.
- b) When the Gen. is not followed by another noun the gen. sing. and plural have the same form as the nom. plural.

Exceptions are the irregular plurals: wāfs wife's, monz man's, wiminz women's etc.

# Chapter VII. Adjectives.

§ 88. The comparative is formed by adding -or and the superlative by adding -ist to the positive. This method is adopted in words of two and even more syllables. In certain cases comparison is made by means of muor and muost or muist, and sometimes this method and the terminal method are used together. There does not seem to be any fixed rule for the employment of muor and muost.

lung long, lunger longer, lungist longest.

strung strong, muor strungor, muist strungist.

bjūtiful beautiful, bjūtifulor, bjūtifulist.

fårp sharp, fårper, fårpist.

dip deep, dipor, dipist.

tlever clever, tleverer, tleverist.

§ 89. The following adjectives are compared irregularly:

bad bad }	wus, wor	wust
får far	fårðər, förðər	färðist, fǫrðist
lēt late	lētər	lētist, last
litl little	les	līst
moni many	muər	muəst, muist
nter near	ntərər, nar	nīprist, nekst.

Note. Instead of using very = veri we sometimes repeat the adj. in this way:

əz därk əz därk kn bī = as dark as possible, very dark. əz färp əz färp kn bī = very sharp.

# Chapter VIII.

#### Articles.

- § 90. a) The indefinite article both before vowels and consonants is  $\partial$ .
- ə ap-pə an apple, ə @s a horse, ə tēbl a table.
  - b) The definite article is (t), (t)p, or p (see § 76).
- 1. Before consonants we have (t): (t)mon the man,  $\bar{o}$  (t)ruk all the lot, (t)tebl the table, (t)waf the wife.
- 2. Before a vowel generally  $(t)\bar{p}$ :  $t\partial_{\bar{p}}(t)\bar{p}\bar{q}s$  to the horse, wi  $(t)\bar{p}\bar{a}rdist$  luk with the hardest luck. But at the beginning of a sentence we have  $\bar{p}$  alone:  $p\bar{e}s$  the house.
- 3. After  $u\partial$  who, wod what, in expressions denoting anger, surprise etc.  $\partial$  is used before consonants,  $\partial$  before vowels: wod  $\partial$  devl  $\ddot{u}r(t)$  duin? what the devil are you doing? wod  $\partial$  i el? what the hell?

We have the old form of one in  $(t)t\bar{o}n$  the one of two. The unaccented form is  $\partial n$ :  $id\ w\partial r\ \partial\ gud\ \partial n$  it was a good one.

## Chapter IX.

## Pronouns.

#### 1. Personal.

§ 91.	First Person.	
Singular.		Plural.
Nom. $\bar{a}$ (a)	$w\bar{e}$ (wi)	
Obj. mī (mi)	uz (əz).	
	Second Person.	
Nom. đã (đa, tə)	jō (jə)	
Obj. ðī (ði)	jō (jə).	

#### Third Person.

	Singular.	
Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom. 7	id (it)	a (u, sə)
Obj. im	id	ār (ar).

Plural.
Nom. để (đi)
Obj. um (əm).

The weak forms are in parenthesis.

Examples: av no tam I have no time; bud a ev but I have; gi mi o tutri give me a few; giv id mī nod im give it to me, not to him.

us wil?  $w\bar{u}$  wē wil who will? why we will; wis nod we shall not. The strong form  $w\bar{e}$  has probably been formed from analogy of  $\partial\bar{e}$ .

ī akst uz he asked us; ī tāk id ēf əz he took it from us. The z in uz is never voiceless as in lit. English.

wil da? wilt thou?; da mornd thou must not. to is only used after the auxiliary verb. es to fon id? hast thou found it?; its di oz a want it is you whom I want.

The obj. forms are used in all persons after the verb to be: its mī it is I, its oī it is thou, its im it is he etc. In such phrases as im on mī went las nīt he and I went last night, they are also used when separated from the verb. (See Sweet NEG. § 1085.)

 $j\bar{\sigma}$  fod  $gu\bar{\sigma}$  you ought to go;  $j\bar{\sigma}$  mon  $gu\bar{\sigma}$  you must go. The pronoun of the second pers. sing.  $\delta \bar{a}$ ,  $\delta \bar{\tau}$  etc. is still generally used. But strangers, grown up people and masters are addressed as  $j\bar{\sigma}$ .

In the third person we have only one form in the Masc. In the Neut. «it» appears to be only used in combination with «is»: its mūn it is mine. In the Fem. the

OE.  $h\bar{e}o$  has developed regularly to  $\bar{u}$  (u).  $h\bar{e}o > he\bar{o} > h\bar{o} > h\bar{o} > \bar{u}$ . The form  $f_{\bar{\sigma}}$  is not often used and is always unaccented.

Examples of the third person are:  $\bar{\imath}$  ed to guo he had to go; ez  $\bar{\imath}$  sin  $\partial i$  has he seen you; wil to sel id im wilt thou sell it to him; id wor stärft to(t) dvop it was starved to death;  $\bar{u}z$  nod wil she is not well; u ed to she had to; id wornd for im, id wor for  $\bar{\imath}$  it wasn't for him, it was for her;  $\partial i$  en non they have none; we nod bud  $\partial \bar{\imath}$  wil we shall not but they will; a toud om (t) kum I told them to come. Cp. § 76. Note 2.

The obj. case is often used reflexively:  $\bar{\imath}$  wa $\bar{\imath}$  ft in he washed himself; a  $s\bar{\imath}$ t mi d $\bar{\varrho}$ n I sat down; es tə dres(t)  $\delta i$  have you dressed yourself.

The obj. case is also used as subject when the subject of the principal sentence is separated from the verb by a subordinate sentence: im əz ā akst nōd noūt əbēt id he whom I asked knew nothing of it. (See above and Sweet NEG. § 1085.)

#### 2. Possessive.

§ 92. a) Conjoint:

The weak forms are in parenthesis. war has been formed from wi after the analogy of jar. It is not so often used as the other weak forms.

Examples: its mā tōrn it is my turn; te ởi tām take thy time (go slowly); ī sed id wər ðər ōn fōt he said it was

Hargreaves, A Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington.

their own fault; iz fēðar his father; id jed wärtfiz its head aches; esta sin id fēðar have you seen its father.

#### b) Absolute:

mān mine

đãn thine

jārz yours

iz. iz his

dārz theirs.

idz its

ārz hers

iz dad arz is that ours? non, its jorz No it is yours.

#### 3. Reflexive.

\$ 93. 1st. Pers. Plural. Sing. misel arsel(z) (warselz). 2nd. Pers. Nisel jarsel(z). 3rd. Pers. Masc. Neut. Fem. idsel izsel arsel. Plural.  $\delta srsel(z)$ .

The accent is always on the second syllable. The plural forms are used both with and without the ending z. worsel(z) has been formed from the weak possessive

and is not often used.

For remarks on the relative use of these and other forms in other dialects see Wright, Windhill Dialect § 353.

#### 4. Demonstrative.

§ 94. Sing.  $\delta is$  this  $\delta ad$  that jon yon Plur.  $\delta iz$  these  $\delta em$ ,  $\delta uz$  those jon yon.

ðis, ðīz are often followed by vər; ðad, ðem, ðūz by ðvər there. ðvz vər ladz iz bin stevin ap-pəz these lads have been stealing apples; ðem ðvərz nod wup evin those are not worth having.

đũz, đem are each equally often used.

#### 5. Interrogative.

§ 95. Masc. and Fem. Neut.

Nom. Obj. uə, ū who wod, wor what Gen. uəz whose witf which.

ū and wor are rarely used.

#### 6. Relative.

§ 96. Masc. and Fem. Neut. 0z, u0, wod 0z, wod.

When the antecedent is not expressed uo, wod are used: a no wod oa muonz I know what you mean.

v toud mi up vd gin id tu he told me whom he had given it to.

When the antecedent is expressed  $\partial z$  (and sometimes wod) are used for all genders:

ə mon əz ā sīd a man whom I saw.

im əz toad mi he who told me.

đem trīz əz wər kut dēn those trees which were cut down.

id wər im wod akst mi it was he who asked me.

đem ę̃ziz wod wər brunt den those houses which were burnt down.

oz is the conjunction which has come to be used as a relative pronoun. Cp. «that gentleness as I was wont to have» Julius Caesar I 2. 32. See Franz, Shakesp. Gramm. § 207.

#### 7. Indefinite.

§ 97. sum some, sumbri somebody, sumət something, ont anything, nout nothing.

 $m\bar{u}$ , muf enough.  $\partial i$   $w \partial r$   $\partial m$  on  $\partial m$  = there were enough of them.

tōtri, tātri a few, evri every, ō all, els else, suts, sits such, ōðər, ēðər either, nōðər, nēðər neither, uðər other.

ani any, anibri anybody, moni many.

(t)ton one of two or more.

no no, nobri nobody, non none. non is often used instead of nod not: am non ben (t)ds dad I am not going to do that.

# Chapter X.

	Numera	ls.
§ 97a.	Cardinal.	Ordinal.
	won one	fust
	ta two	sekond
	prī three	þård
	for four	förþ
	fav five	fiff
	siks six	etc.
	sevn seven	
	ett eight	
	nan nine	
	ten ten	
	ilevn eleven	
	twelv twelve	
	par(t)-tin thirteen	
	twenti twenty	
	for(t)-ti forty	
	undered hundred	
	þēznd thousand.	

Fractional numbers are:

ēf, ēf half, pard third, kwārtər quarter.

Multiplicatives are:

wons once, dubl double, twas twice, pri tamz three times.

In composition we have:

tōtri, tōpri, tūtri, tūpri two or three, few. gi mi ə tōtri give me a few.

## Chapter XI.

#### Verbs.

## A. Strong Verbs.

§ 98. The preterite of strong verbs is formed by means of gradation (Ablaut). Many verbs which were strong in OE, have now become weak and a great many have double forms, strong and weak. The same form often serves both for pret, and past partic.

The verbs are here divided into classes as given in Sievers «Ags. Gramm.» § 382—392. Owing to the multitude and variety of developments it was impossible to divide them into classes where each verb should have the same characteristics as the others in the same class. Hence in some divisions the OE, vowels are represented by various developments, but the arrangement seemed to be the best for the purpose of looking up any particular verb.

~					787
C	ı	a	Q	C	
$\sim$	A	CU	N	6	

§ 9	9.	Inf.	. Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
	OE.	Ŧ	ā	i	i
	ME.	ī	$ar{Q}$	i	i.

ād (also id) hide	id	id
bat bite	$b\bar{o}t$	bot, bitn
dāv dive	dōv, dāvd	döv, dävd
drāv drive	drōv	drov, drivn
rād ride	rōd	rōd, ridn
rāt write	rōt	rōt, ritn
rav rive	$r\bar{o}v$	rov
rāz rise	rōz	rōz
strād stride	ströd	ströd
strāek strike	strök, struk	struk
saet, sit cacare	fit	Sitn
prāv thrive	þröv	privn.

ād (OE. hydan) and dāv (OE. dyfan) were weak in OE. rāv (Scand. rīfa) and prāv (Scand. prīfa) are of Scand. origin.

#### Class II.

§ 100. Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
OE. ēo	$\bar{e}a$	26	0
ME. ē	$ar{e}$	Q	Q.
stae fly	Añ		floun
frīz freeze	frōz		frozn, froz
krip creep	kröp, krept	kro	pn, krôp, krept
fat shoot	fot		fot
tsuz choose	tfüzd		tsozn.

The vowel of the pret has not been at all regularly developed but has probably been influenced by the verbs with similar pret in class V.

#### Class III.

- § 101. There were four divisions in OE.
  - 1. Verbs having a nasal + cons.
  - 2. Verbs having  $l + \cos l$

- 3. Verbs having r, h + cons.
- 4. Verbs having a mute or spirant + cons.

All verbs in 2. 3. 4. have now become weak except fest fight and brast burst.

C 100 T 4	D		
§ 102. Inf.	Pret. Sg.		l. P. P.
1. OE. i	a, o	u	u
ME. i	ă, ŏ	,	u, $o$ , $ou$ .
a) bigin begin	bigun		bigun
bānd bind	bun		bùn
bring bring	bruyg	, broūt	bruyg, broūt
fand find	fun, j	fon	fun, fon
grānd grind	grun		grun
run run	run		rin
spin spin	spun		spun
swim swim	swim		swim
win win	win		win
b) drink drink	druyk		druyk
ring ring, wring	g rung		ruyg
siyg sing	sung		sung
siyk sink	suyk		suyk
sliyk slink	sluyk		sluyk
spring spring	spruy	g	spruyg
sting sting	stuyg		stung
stiyk stink	stuyk		stunk
swing swing	swung	1	swing
tling cling	tluyg		tluyg
$\int riyk$ shrink	$\int ruyk$		$\int r u y k$ .
2. Inf.	Pret.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
OE. eo	ea	u	0
ME. i, ê	au	ou	ou.
feīt fight	$fo\bar{u}t$		foūt foū(t)n.

3.	Inf.	Pret.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
	OE. e	æ	26	10
	ME. e	a	0	0.

brast burst brastid brosn, brastid.

The present brast has apparently been influenced by the pret. See Sweet NEG. § 1354.

#### Class IV.

§ 103. Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
1. OE. e	æ	$\bar{w}$	0
ME. ē, ē	a	ē	$ar{Q}$ .
breik break	brok		brokn
steil steal	stol		stöl, stoun
tor tear	tör		tör, törn
wir wear	wor		wör, wörn.

war (OE. werian) was originally weak.

#### 2. Before nasal

OE. i (u)	$\bar{o}$ , $a$	Õ	26
ME. i (u)	ō, a	Ŏ	и, о.
kum come	kum, kum		kām, kum.

## Class V.

S 104. Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
OE. e	æ	$\bar{w}$	e
ME. $\tilde{e}$ , $\hat{e}$	a	ē	ę.
1. neid knead	neīdid		nodn
speīk speak	$sp\bar{n}k$		spokn, spōk
trend trend	trod		trod
weave	weīvd		worn, weivd
eīt eat	eīt		etn.
2. ged get	git		getn
gi, giv give	giv		gin
sī see	sīd		sīn, sin
sit sit	sīt		sīt, sit.

3. stik stick	stuk	stuk
dig	dug	dug.

The two latter verbs were weak in OE.

## Class VI.

§ 105. Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
OE. a	ō	ō	a
ME. $\bar{a}$	Ō	Ö	a.
dro draw	$drar{\varrho}d$		$drar{\varrho}n$
stand stand	stud		stud
tek take	$t\bar{u}k$		tūk, ten
swār swear	swār		swōr.

## Class VII (reduplicating verbs).

§ 106. Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
OE. a (o)	e	a (o)
ayg, eyg hang	iing	in ba
OE. $\bar{x}$	$ar{e}$	$ar{ar{x}}$
led let	$l\bar{\imath}t$	$l\bar{\imath}t$ , $letn$
OE. ea (a)	$ar{e}o$	ea (a)
$far{o},\; far{arphi}\;\;  ext{fall}$	$f \bar{o} d$	$f\bar{o}n,f\bar{o}n,f\bar{o}d$
OE. ēa	$ar{e}o$	ēa
bjed beat		bjetn
OE. $\bar{o}$	$ar{e}o$	$\bar{o}$
$gr\bar{o}$ grow	$gr\bar{o}d$	$grar{o}n$
OE. ā	$ar{e}o$	$\alpha$
blō blow	$bl\bar{o}d$	blon, blod
mō mow	$mar{o}d$	mōn, mōd
nō know	$n\bar{o}d$	$n\bar{o}n, n\bar{o}d.$

#### B. Weak Verbs.

§ 107. The weak verbs are classified according to the formation of the pret. and past participle. 1. -id, 2. -d, 3. -t. These three main classes are then subdivided according to the origin and development of the verbs. Only those verbs are included which are different from literary English or are interesting from other points of view.

#### Class I.

## § 108. Pret and p. p. in -id:

-		
Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
fret fret	fret-tid	fret-tid
līt light	lītid, let	lītid, let
melt melt	meltid	meltid
sūt suit	satid	satid
trēt treat	trētid	trētid
wet wet	wet-tid, wet	wet-tid, wet
oud hold	ondid	oudid.

#### . Class II.

§ 109. Pret. and p. p. in -d.

a) Verbs in which the vowel remains unchanged:

a) veros m	villen the vower remain	ns unchangea.
Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
bra brew	brād	brūd
tor hear	Tord	tard
lé lay	lēd	lēd
mê, mêk make	mēd	mēd
ra rue	rad	rād
se say	8ed	sed
sô sew, sow	$sar{o}d$	sõd, sõn
/o shew	föd	sõd, sõn
$\int a$ shoe	fad	fud
tju chew	t∫ād	tfüd.

b) Verbs with unchanged vowel but with original t, d, in the stem:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
pud put	pud	pud
wed wed	wed	wed.

c) Verbs which change the vowel and add d to the stem:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
sel sell	$so\bar{u}d$	$so\bar{u}d$
tel teli	$to\bar{u}d$	$to\bar{u}d$
tīm, tīm pour out	tīəmd, temd	temd, tīəmd.

d) Verbs which change the vowel and have original d in the stem:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
blīd bleed	bled	bled
brid breed	bred	bred
fid feed	fed	fed.

#### Class III.

§ 110. a) Verbs with unchanged vowel and original t, d, in the stem:

1, 11, 111		
Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
bend bend	bent	bent
bild build	bilt	bilt
it hit	it	it
kost cost	kost	kost
kut cut	kut	kut
nit knit	nit	nit
ort hurt	ort	ort
send send	sent	sent
skrat scratch	skrat	skrat
spend spend	spent	spent
swet sweat	swet	swet.

b) Verbs with unchanged vowel which add t to the stem:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
brun burn	brunt	brunt
elp help	elpt	elpt
kjatf eatch	kjat/t	kjat/t
land lend	lant	lant
kis kiss	kist	kist
lein lean	leīnt	leīnt
reits reach	reīt/t	rettst
sits seek	sītſt	sītſt
smel smell	smelt	smelt
spel spell	spelt	spelt
spil spill	spilt	spilt
spoil spoil	sportt	spotlt
fân shine	fant	fant
fek shake	fekt	ſēkt
Jep shape	<i>Jêpt</i>	ſēpt
fer shave	feft	Seft, Sovn
wai/ wash	waift	$wa \bar{\imath} / t$
wakn waken	wakut	waknt
wärk work	wärkt	wärkt.

c) Verbs with vowel change and original t in the stem:

mit meet 
met 
met.

d) Verbs with vowel change which add t to the stem:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
båe buy	bont	boūt
bring bring	broūt	bront
driam dream	dremt	dremt
fil feel	felt	felt
kīp keep	kept	kept
krīp creep	krept	krept
liev leave	left	left
lōz lose	lost	lost

Inf.	Pret.	P. P
mīən mean	ment	ment
nīl kneel	nelt	nelt
pīp peep	pept	pept
slīp sleep	slept	slept
swīp sweep	swept	swept
tests teach	tout	$to\bar{u}t$
piyk think	$poar{u}t$	pont.

#### C. Verbal Endings.

§ 111. Present. The endings for the first, second and third persons Sing. are -s (after voiced sounds -z, -z) and -is, -iz (-iz) after the spirants s, z, f, z. All the persons have the same ending, although the 1st pers. Sing. is sometimes used without ending.

The plural ends in -in or is without ending.

Examples: *elps* help, helpest, helps.

\*rāziz rise, risest, rises.

\*wärkin pl. work.

The following are the rules for the employment of the persons and numbers.

The ending of the third person sing, is used with pl. nouns (for paradigm see § 112):

dem əz wants muər mən ajks those who want more must ask. (t) naviz warks ärd the navvies work hard. (t)tuðər tsaps plēz bet-tər the other fellows play better. (t)pap-pəz drops of (t) trīz the apples drop off the trees.

After the personal pronouns the ending -in is used or the form is without special ending:

wi guin evri de we go every day. ði wantin əs (t) ple they want us to play. ði rād wīl they ride well.

jo kō-in (kō) ðad wärk? You call that work?

The form with -in is the more extensively used one. Preterite. The pret. of strong verbs is without special endings. The endings of weak verbs are -id, -d, -t for all

persons. See § 107.

Participle. The pres. part. ends in -in (§ 61 b). For past part. of strong verbs see § 99 ff. The past part. of weak verbs ends in -id, -d, -t. The Infinitive has no special ending.

## Paradigms.

§ 112. elp to	help	stik to stick
Indic. Pres. Sg. 1.	elps	stiks
2.	elps	stiks
3.	elps	stiks
Plur.	elpin	stikin
	elp \	stik
Pret. Sg.	elpt	stuk
Pl.	elpt	stuk
Imper. Sg. and Pl.	elp	stik
Inf.	elp	stik
Pres. Part.	elpin	stikin
Past Part.	elpt.	stuk.

The subjunctive mood has disappeared except in such phrases as iv a war on if I were you.

The future, perfect tenses, and the passive voice are formed as in lit. English.

## Table of Tenses.

Tense.	Indefinite.	Imperfect and Continuous.	Perfect.	Perfect and Continuous.
Present.	a stiks I stick	am stikin I am sticking	av stuk I have stuck	av bin stickin I have been sticking
Preterite.	a stuk I stuck	a war stikin I was sticking		ad bin stickin I had been sticking
Future.	as stik I shall stick	as bi stikin I shall be sticking	as e stuk I shall have stuck	as e bin stickin I shall have been sticking

The full conj. of the auxiliary verbs is given §§ 119, 120.

## D. Anomalous Verbs.

## a) Preterite Presents.

1. can.

§ 113. Pres. strong form kon, weak form kn. Pret. » » kud, » » kad.

## Affirmatively.

Present.

Singular. Plural.

\$\bar{a}, a, kon \text{ or } kn \\
\$\bar{v}\bar{a}, \partial a \times \text{ or } kn \\
\$\bar{v}\bar{a}, \partial a \times \times \text{ or } \text{ or } kn \\
\$\bar{v}\bar{a}, \partial a \times \text{ or } k\text{ or } \text{ or } k\text{ of } \\
\$\bar{v}\bar{a}, a k\text{ kud or } k\text{ or } k\tex

## Affirmatively with not.

Pres. Pret. a, a kornd a, a kudnd etc. etc.

## Interrogatively.

Present.

Singular.

Plural.

kon or kn ā, a?

kon or kn wē, wi?

» » » ðā, tə?

» » » jō, jə?

» » » ī, a, id?

» » » đē, đi?

Note that  $t_{\theta}$  is used in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, interrog, where  $\partial a$  is used in the affirm, form,

Pret.

kud or kəd ā, a?

kud or kad wē, wi?

etc.

etc.

## Interrogatively with not.

Present.

kornd a, a?

kornd we, wi?

Pret.

Sing.

etc.

Plural.

etc.

kudnd ā, a?

kudnd wē, wi?

etc.

etc.

The r in  $k\bar{q}rnd$  has probably been introduced from analogy with  $w\bar{q}rnd$  were not.

kud is sometimes used in the Infinitive. a jas to kud I used to be able (to do it).

### 2. dare.

§ 114. Pres. a. a dåre I dare

Pret.

ā, a dărnd I dare not

ā, a dār I dared ā, a dārsnt, dārnd, dasnt I

dared not

där ä, a? dare I?

där a, a? dare I?

därnd, därsnt a a? dare I not?

därsnt, därnd, dasnt a, a? did not I dare?

There is a pret. and past part. ddrd meaning 'challenged'.

## 3. shall.

§ 115. Pres. strong form fal, weak s.

Pret. » » fud, » fad.

## Affirmatively.

#### Present.

Singular.	Plural.
$\left. egin{array}{l} ar{a}, & a & fal \\ ar{a}s, & as \end{array}  ight\}$	( wē, wi fal
ās, as	$\left\{ egin{array}{ll} war{e}, \ wi \ fal \ wis \end{array}  ight.$
ðas	( jō, jə fal
ī fal }	$\left\{ egin{array}{ll} jar{o},\ jar{o}\ fal \ jar{o}s \end{array}  ight.$
78	( No. Co.)
$\left.\begin{array}{c} ar{u} & fal \\ us \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{ egin{array}{l}  oting \  ext{fal} \  oting \  ext{fis} \ \end{array}  ight.$
	ði /al
id fal }	ðis
its	

#### Pret

						2 10	0.0				
Singular.			Pla			ural.					
	$\bar{a}$ ,	a	fud	or	ſəd		$w\bar{e},$	wi	fud	or	fəd
	$\partial \bar{a}$ ,	ða	>>	>>	>>		$j\bar{o},$	$j_{\partial}$	>>	>>	>>
	ī. ž	. 10	7. »	>>	>>		ð ē	ði	>>	55	>>

## Affirmatively with not.

## Present.

$\left. egin{array}{l} ar{a}, \ a \ far{a}rnd \ as \ nod \end{array}  ight.  ight.$	ſ wē, wi ſārnd
as nod	$\left\{ egin{array}{ll} war{e}, \ wi \ \int ar{d}rnd \ war{e}s, \ wis \ nod \end{array}  ight.$
ðā, ða färnd	
ðas nod	$\left\{ egin{array}{l} jar{o},\ jar{o}\end{array}  ight. \int\!$
ī, ŭ, id färnd	
ī, ŭ, id fārnd \ īs, ŭs, its nod \	$\left\{ egin{array}{ll} rac{\partial ar{e}}{\partial ar{e}s}, \ rac{\partial is}{\partial s} \ nod. \end{array}  ight.$

## Pret.

$\bar{a}$ ,	a	fudnd,	fədnd		$war{e},$	wi	fudnd,	fədnd
		etc.					etc.	

## Interrogatively.

Present.

 fal we, wi?

 Pret.

 fud, fod a, a?
 fud, fod we, wr?

 fud, fod oa, to?
 fud, fod jo, jo?

 fud, fod ve, wi?
 fud, fod oe, ve?

## Interrogatively with not.

The weak form s is generally only used with pronouns.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>nd</sup> pers. Sing. and Plural forms of the Present Interrogative are wanting. Their place is supplied by the other auxiliaries will, must, ought etc.

## 4. may.

§ 116. Weak form. Pres. mi, Pret. mod, mot, mit.

For the strong forms the verb kon is used, and it is generally preferred for the whole of the present.

The weak forms are not used interrogatively. For these the verbs kon and mon are used.

mon ā plē? may I play? kon wi aks im? may we ask him?

This leaves only the following forms.

Present.

a mi I may,
ða mi thou mayest,
etc.

Verbs. 99

But even here the weak forms of kon are preferred.

Preterite.

ā, a məd, mət, mit I might,
ðā, ða məd, mət, mit thou mightest,
etc.

Pret. affirmatively with not.

ā, a mitnt, mitnd, mutnt, mudnd I might not,

ðā, ða » » » thou mightest not,

etc.

The pret. negative forms mudnd, mutnt appear to be a new formation, after the analogy of fudnd and kudnd.

The pret. of may is sometimes used as a pret. of must:  $\bar{\imath}$  sed  $\partial i$  muth do  $\partial ad$ : he said they must not do that. See § 117.

#### 5. must.

§ 117. To express the lit. Eng. must, the Scand. munu, monu is used.

Strong form mon, weak form mon.

The following are the forms of the 1st pers. sing. and plural.

Singular. Plural.

\[ \bar{a}, a mon, m\text{mon, m} \text{I must} \]

\[ \bar{w}, wi mon, m\text{mon, m} \text{mon, m} \]

\[ \walpha \text{w}, wi m\text{ornd} \]

\[ w\text{o}, wi m\text{o}, m\text{o} m\text{o} rnd \]

\[ mon, m\text{on, m} w\text{o}, wi? \]

\[ m\text{o}rnd \text{a}, a? must I not? \]

\[ m\text{o}rnd w\text{o}, wi? \]

The weak form mon is not used negatively.

For the pret. the weak form mon is used:  $\bar{\imath}$  toud om wod  $\partial i$  mon du he told them what they must do. A form mot, mit might is also occasionally used in the same sense. See § 116.

## 6. ought.

§ 118. out is uninflected for all persons.

ā, a out I ought, etc.

out ā, a? ought I? etc.

ā, a outnt, didnd out I ought not etc.

outnt ā, a? didnd ā, a out? ought I not? etc.

## b) have.

§ 119. Pres. strong forms ev, e, en, weak əv, ə, ən. Before consonants the strong form e is always used, before vowels both e and ev are used, although even here e is used more frequently.

Pret. strong form ed, weak od.

In both pres. and pret the vowel disappears in the weak forms when preceded by the nom. of the pers. pronouns: av I have, wev we have, ad sin in I had seen him.

Sometimes the verb disappears altogether:  $\eth i$  stoun om they have stolen them, wi fon id we have found it.

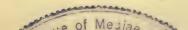
The -z of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>nd</sup> pers. sg. becomes s before voiceless consonants: esta? hast thou?

The forms en, on are only used in the Pl. of the present.

## Affirmatively.

υ.	0.1	en	Ł

Singular.	Plural.		
ā, a ev or e	) wē, wi ev or e, en		
$\tilde{a}$ , $a$ ev or $e$ $\tilde{a}v$ , $av$	wē, wi ev or e, en wev, wiv, wen, win		
ðā, ða ez } ðāz, ðaz	$\begin{cases} j\overline{o}, \ j\overline{o} \ ev \ \text{ or } e \ \text{ or } en \\ j\overline{o}n, \ j\overline{o}n \end{cases}$		
$\partial \bar{a}z$ , $\partial az$			
ī, ū, id ez }	j đë, đi ev or en		
v, ü, id ez } vz, ŭz, its	{ để, đi ev or en đềv, điv, đến, đin.		



```
Preterite.
```

ā, a ed }
ād, ad 
ðā, ða ed }
ðād, ðad }

 $\left\{ egin{array}{ll} war{e}, \ wi \ ed \\ war{e}d, \ wid \\ ext{etc.} \end{array} 
ight.$ 

etc.

Infin. ev, e

Pres. Part. evin, e-in (rare).
Past » ed, əd.

## Affirmatively with not.

#### Present.

Singular.

a, a evnd

āv, av nod

etc.

Plural.  $\begin{cases}
 w\bar{e}, & wi \text{ evnd} \\
 w\bar{e}v, & wiv \text{ nod} \\
 w\bar{e}n, & win \text{ nod} \\
 \text{etc.}
\end{cases}$ 

Pret.

 $\bar{a}$ , a ednd  $\bar{a}d$ , ad nod.

 $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} w\tilde{e}, \ wi \ \ ednd \\ w\tilde{e}d, \ wid \ \ nod. \end{array} \right.$ 

## Interrogatively.

#### Present.

ev ā, a?
ez ðā, es tə?

ev, e, or en wē, wi? ev, e, or en jō, jo?

ez ī, ŭ, id?

ev, e, or en de, di?

Pret.

ed ā, a? etc.

ed wē, wi etc.

## Interrogatively with not.

#### Present.

Singular.

evnd ā, a?

ev ā, a nod?

{ evnd wē, wi? { ev or en wē, wi nod? etc.

Plural.

Pret.

ednd ā, a | ednd wē, wi

ed ā, a nod | ed wē, wi nod

etc. etc.

The plural forms of the present, given above, are only used with the personal pronouns. In all other cases the forms of the second and third person Sing. are used, viz. ez, zz, z (s).

ez dem men sin di? have those men seen you? duz trīz iz bin pud dēn those trees have been pulled down. (Note. The weak form of ez is iz after a sibilant.)

These forms are also used with the first person Sing. when combined with a relative. its mī az iz dun id it is I who have done it. See also § 120.

c) be. Affirmatively. § 120. Present. Singular. Plural. wē, wi ar ā, a am ) ām am war, war ðā, ða ar jo, jo ar dar dar jor, jor ī. ŭ, id iz đe, đi ar iz, űz, ils dar. dar. Pret. ā, a wor, wor wē, wi wor, wər etc. etc.

Infin. bī, bī.
Pres. Part. bī-in.
Past » bin.

## Affirmatively with not.

#### Present.

Singular.

ām, am nod

võr, vor nod

dar, dar nod

jör, jor nod

tz, ŭz, its nod

dar, dar nod

por, jor nod.

Pret.

ā, a wōrnd ā, a wōrnd, wərnd etc.

\[ \vec{we} wi w\text{\vec{o}}rnd \\ \vec{we}, wi w\text{\vec{o}}rnd, w\text{\vec{o}}rnd \\ \text{etc.} \]

## Interrogatively.

Pres.

 am ā, a?
 ar wē, wi?

 ar ðā, tə?
 ar jō, jə?

 iz ī, ŭ, id?
 ar ðē, ði?

 Pret.

 $\left.\begin{array}{c} wor \ \bar{a}, \ a? \\ wor \ \bar{a}, \ a? \\ \end{array}\right\}$   $\left.\begin{array}{c} wor \ \bar{a}a \ \text{etc.} \end{array}\right.$ 

 $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \textit{wor} & \textit{w\bar{e}}, \; \textit{wi?} \\ \textit{wor} & \textit{w\bar{e}}, \; \textit{wi?} \\ & \text{etc.} \end{array} \right.$ 

## Interrogatively with not.

Present.

 $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} armd \ \bar{a}, \ a? \\ am \ \bar{a}, \ a \ nod? \\ \end{array} \right\} \qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} arnd \ w\bar{e}, \ wi? \\ ar \ w\bar{e}, \ wi \ nod? \\ \end{array} \right. \\ \left. \begin{array}{ll} arnd \ \bar{v}\bar{a}, \ i\bar{v}, \ i\bar{v}, \ id? \\ \vdots \ \bar{z}, \ \check{u}, \ id \ nod? \\ \end{array} \right\} \qquad \left. \begin{array}{ll} \\ \end{array} \right\} \qquad \left. \begin{array}{ll} \\ \end{array} \right. \\ \left. \begin{array}{ll} arnd \ w\bar{e}, \ wi? \\ \end{array} \right. \\ \left. \begin{array}{ll} ar \ w\bar{e}, \ wi \ nod? \\ \end{array} \right\}$ 

Pret.

wŏrnd ā, a?
wōrnd ā, a?
wor ā, a nod?
ivər ā, a nod?
etc.

wõrnd wē, wi?
| wõrnd » » ?
| wor wē, wi nod?
| wor » » » ?

etc.

The «r» in the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. Sg. of the above pres. and pret. interrog. neg. forms has probably been introduced from the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. and from the Plural.

The above forms of the present are only used with the personal pronouns. In other cases the third person Sg. is used, cp. § 119.

đem tsaps iz nod redi jet those men are not ready yet; đemz nod bad ənz those are not had ones; sum föks iz när satisfād some folks are never satisfied.

The vowel disappears, or is assimilated to the foregoing vowel of the subject, in the weak forms of the present: ðar to fos you are too smart, am redi I am ready.

The -z in the third person becomes -s before voiceless consonants: is pout a gud dial on he is thought a lot of.

### d) will.

§ 121. Pres. strong form wil, weak al. The weak form drops the vowel in combination with the pronouns.

Pret. strong form wud, weak wod, od. 'The latter loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns: ad land ŏi id bud a kornd do bet id ne I would lend thee it but I can't do without it now.

Pi	resent.
Singular.	Plural.
ā, a wil \	wē, wi wil
$\{a, a \ wil \}$ $\{a, al \}$ etc.	$\left\{\begin{array}{ll} w\bar{e},\ wi\ wil\\ wel,\ wil \end{array}\right.$
etc.	etc.
	Pret.
ā, a wud or wod	wē, wi wud or wad
ā, a wud or wed } ād, ad	wē, wi wud or wad
etc.	etc.

## Affirmatively with not.

$$\left\{ egin{array}{ll} war{e}, & wi & war{e}rnd \\ ar{a}l, & al & nod \\ \end{array} 
ight. \qquad \left\{ egin{array}{ll} war{e}, & wi & war{e}rnd \\ war{e}l, & wil & nod \\ \end{array} 
ight.$$

## Interrogatively.

#### Present.

Singular.	Plural.
fal ā, a?	fal wē, wi?
wil ðā, tə?	$wil\ jar{o},\ jar{o}?$
wil \(\tau, \tilde{u}, \) id?	wil đe, đi?

#### Pret.

wind	or fud, wed or fed a, a?	wud or fud, wad or fad wē, wi?
wud,	wəd ðā, tə?	wud, wad jo, ja?
. »	» ī, ž, id?	» » ðē, ði?

### With not.

#### Present.

wārnd ā, a?	{ wōrnd wē, wi?
fal a or a nod?	fal wē or wi nod?
etc.	etc.

#### Pret.

$$\begin{array}{c} \textit{wudnd, fudnd } \bar{a}, \; a? \\ \textit{wudnd, fudnd } \bar{a}, \; a? \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \{ \textit{wudnd, fudnd } \textit{we, wi?} \\ \textit{wudnd, fudnd } \textit{we, wi?} \\ \text{wudnd, fudnd } \textit{we, wi?} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array}$$

It will be seen that for all 1st person Sg. and Pl. interrogative forms the verb shall is also used and for the present interrogative exclusively.

## e) do.

§ 122. do as an independent verb is conjugated like any other verb.

In the pret. did is used for all persons Sing. and Plural.

## Affirmatively.

Present.

Singular.

ā. a dū

ā, a dắ

ðā, ða dụz

ī, ň, id dụz

Plural.

wē, wi dǔ, dụn jō, jə dǔ, dun

đe, đi dă, dụn.

#### With not.

a, a dərnd

ða, ða duznd ī, ŭ, id duznd wē, wi dārnd, dornd

jō, jə » ðē, ði »

## Interrogatively.

dù a, a?

duz ða, dus to? duz i, ŭ, id? dun, dən, də wē, wi?

" " jō, jə?

» » đe, đi?

## With not.

dă a or a nod?

dərnd a, a?

etc.

dun, dən, də wē or wi nod?
dərnd wē, wi?

Pres. Part. duin.
Past Part. dun, don.

## Chapter XII.

## I. Adverbs.

§ 123. Adverbs of manner and degree mostly end in -li; årdli hardly, *\(\rho\karkli\)* awkwardly. In fusrli the accent is on the suffix.

apn happen,  $\bar{e}$  how,  $\bar{e}$  ever however, on  $\bar{o}$  and all, too, also, used in a strengthening sense,  $\bar{i}$  will  $\bar{\sigma}$ ad on  $\bar{o}$  he will (do) that,  $\bar{o}$ loz always,  $t\bar{u}$  too, also,  $s\bar{o}$  so, instead of  $s\bar{o}$  we

generally say ðad: ī wər ðad noūt he was so angry, väri very, vārnjər almost, wāe why, wīl well, but as an interjection we say wel.

Also is expressed by tu or on o.

Thus is expressed by *i dis we* in this way or *a dad rod* literally, in that road.

wiðin is used in the meaning of «against» in such phrases as:  $\overline{z}z$  nod wiðin ste $\overline{z}$  lin he is capable of or doesn't mind, stealing.

Adverbs of place: aniwider anywhere, ider here, jon yonder, sumwider somewhere, did there, wider where.

Adverbs of time:  $ev\bar{r}$  or  $\bar{d}r$  ever, jet yet,  $justard\bar{e}$  yesterday,  $n\bar{e}$  now,  $nev\bar{r}$  or  $n\bar{d}r$  never, oft often, sin since,  $s\bar{u}n$  soon,  $t\bar{r}$  today,  $t\bar{r}$   $m\bar{e}rn$ ,  $(t)m\bar{e}rn$  tomorrow,  $t\bar{r}$   $n\bar{e}t$  tonight,  $d\bar{e}n$  then, wen when.

## 2. Prepositions.

§ 124. after after, əfūər before, bitwīn between, bi by, bi-int behind, dēn down, ə, əv (only before vowels) of, əbēt, bēt about, without, əbūv above, əgen again, əlūng along, əmūng among, bisād, əsād besides, ət-sted ə instead of, fər for, frə from, in, i in (i is more used, even before vowels), intə into, nīər near, būd, bəd except, on, o on, ōr over, sin since, tə, til to (wi went vārnjər til Boūtn we almost went as far as Bolton), prū through, unðer under, up up, wi with.

## 3. Conjunctions.

§ 125. bud but, bikūs, kūs because, ən and, əz that (ðad is never used as a conjunction), iv if, nūðər, nēðər neither, ōðər, ēðər either, ðen than (nər is sometimes used), wāl until (wət wāl ī kumz wait until he comes).

## Specimens.

#### T.

dərz ə gud dīsl ə tēlz toūd əbēt oūd x. ī wər reknt (t)lēziist mon i Laykifər ən al dzust tel di wod ī did. ī wons went ə sītfin würk əd ə pit, ən ī guz up tə (t)gjafər ən ajkst im iv ī kəd fānd im ə dzob. «Noū» sed (t)gjafər «a dərn þiyk əz wi en oūt əzl du fər dī.» «wod, en jə noūt əd ö den» ajkst x. «ja win won dzob» sed (t)gjafər «bud its i (t)nīt.» «wel am nod evin id» sed x. «ad əz sūn gə tə hel əz würk i (t)détām, ən a wil guə əfuər al würk i(t) nīt.»

ði sen ī wons kjatst won ə iz ladz würkin sö drd əz ī wər swet-tin. ən ī sīt on tu im ən giv im ə gud ādin ən ajkst im iv ī wər bēn (t)würk is-sel tə (t)dīəp.

oùd Dzak — wər ənuðər kwēr ən. ī wons went (t) Aiərlənd wi ə tūtri¹ tſaps, ən əz id wər sundi mornin ði ō went ə evin ə ſēv. (t)bårbər stårted loðərin ən ī loðərt til oūd Dzak wər ðad taiərt əz ī kudn stan id nō luygər. ī gīt up ən wōkt ệt wi iz fēs kuvərt wi loðər, til ī fon ənuðər ſop. ī went in ən ajkst «dun jə ſēv īər» «āe wi ſēvin» sed (t) bårbər». wel ſēv mī ðen» sed oūd Dzak «ði noūt bud loðərin ōr ðīər.»

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;a few', see § 20.

## Specimens.

Note. For convenience in reading, an English transcription to the dialect Specimens is here given. They are rendered almost word for word, and no attempt has been made to write correct English.

## I.

There is a good deal of tales told about old X. He was reckoned the laziest man in Lancashire and I will just tell you what he did. He once went a-seeking work at a pit, and he goes up to the gaffer and asked him if he could find him a job. «No» said the gaffer «I don't think that we have anything that will do for you.» «What, have you nothing at all then?» asked X. «Yes we've one job» said the gaffer, «but it is in the night.» «Well, I am not having it» said X. «I'd as soon go to hell as work in the daytime, and I will go before I'll work in the night.»

They say he once caught one of his lads working so hard that he was sweating. And he set on to him and gave him a good hiding and asked him if he were going to work himself to the death.

Old Jack — was another queer one. He once went to Ireland with a few chaps, and as it was Sunday morning they all went to have a shave. The barber started lathering, and he lathered until old Jack was that tired that he couldn't stand it any longer. He got up and walked out with his face covered with lather, until he found another shop. He went in and asked «Do you shave here?» «Yes, we shave» said the barber. «Well, shave me then» said old Jack «they only lather over there.»

wen (t) big-dzob¹ kūm tə Oridz ði wər ə lot ə roūz bitwīn (t)poūd fök əz livd ðīər əfuər (t)wārks kūm, ən (t) njū uns əz kūm wi (t)wārks. (t)muəst ə ðīz njū unz kūm frə Mantfistər rūd on, un ði rēðər luk(t) dēn o(t) poūd Oridzərz, se in əz ði nūd noūt əfuər ðē kum. (t)poūd Oridzərz wərnd sə wīl plīəst ör id, kūz ði poūt ðərsel əz gud əz um, evri bit. əd ani rūd, ði wər nō pop-fops i(t) plēs əfuər, ən ði manidzd grēdli wīl bi ðərselz. iv evər ani ə (t)poūd Oridzərz ən (t)njū ənz apnt tə bi evin ə dlas təgeðər, ði wər öləz sumut guin on.

ði wər ə tu(ri on əm won nīt i(t) Brēn Kē, ən won ə(t) nju kumərz bigun ə telin əbēt ə bəlum əz lit ə (t)top ə(t) Paek tu ər pri jər əfuər (t) big-dzob stärtid. Nobri nōd wod tə mēk on id; ðid när sin won əfuər, evribodi i Oridz went ə evin ə lūk ad id, bud nön on əm kəd se wod id wər. ət last ði fotft oūd Sami B—, ə oud tfap ör nanti, uz ði ed (t)trundl up in ə wīlbarə. ī lūk(t) ad id ə luyg wāl ən sed nout. ðen ī sed «wil mi rēnd, tfaps.» ði wīlt im rēnd. ī þout əgen fər əbēt ten minits ən ðen sed «wil mi rēnd əgen.» ði wīlt im rēnd əgen. ðen ī þoūt əgen fər əbēt ə kwār(ər əv ən ār. ði þout þoūd tfap ed gon tə slīp. bud ī wər noūt bəd þiykin. ət last ī sed «a nō wod id iz; its ə sārkəs ən (t)þōsiz is kumin (t)morn.» ði wər ō satisfād ən wīlt im wum əgen.

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  big-dzob is used locally to describe the large railway works at Horwich.

When the big job (railway works) came to Horwich, there were a lot of rows between the old folks who lived there before the works came, and the new ones who came with the works. Most of these new ones came from Manchester way on, and they rather looked down on the old Horwichers, saying that they knew nothing before they came. The old Horwichers were not so well pleased over it, because they thought themselves as good as them, every bit. At any rate, there were no pop-shops (pawnshops) in the place before, and they managed very well by themselves. If ever any of the old Horwichers and the new ones happened to be having a glass together, there was always something going on.

There were a few of them one night in the «Brown Cow», and one of the new comers began a telling about a balloon that let on the top of the «Pike», two or three years before the big job started. Nobody knew what to make of it; they had never seen one before, everybody in Horwich went a having a look at it, but none of them could say what it was. At last they fetched old Sammy B-, an old chap, over ninety, whom they had wheeled up in a wheelbarrow. He looked at it a long while and said nothing. Then he said «Wheel me round chaps.» They wheeled him round. He thought again for about ten minutes and then said «Wheel me round again.» They wheeled him round again. Then he thought again for about a quarter of an hour. They thought the old chap had gone to sleep. But he was only thinking. At last he said «I know what it is; it's a circus and the horses are coming tomorrow.» They were all satisfied and wheeled him home again.

ði wər ə gud laf wen īd finift ðad, ən ðad mēd im tel ənuðər. ī sed sum ət (t)njā Oridzərz wons kjatst ə oūd Oridzər nod far öf (t) Krén. (ði wər wāld jə non, ən went əbet o ðər anz ən nīz.) ði rīərt im up əgen ə wö, ən wod did ī du bud bigin ə pē-in (t)þēr wi iz andz, ən sed «wod mon a du wi dīz.»

ði war a nju Oridzar ðiar az ed sed noūt ō ðis tām, bud ī þout id war abēt is torn ta pud a word in. ī sed sum nju Oridzarz war wons guin þrú (t) Krēn fildz, wiar ði war sum bärli grō in. ði didn no wod id war an fotst a frēnd az livd ad Mantsistar, an nod evariþin. ī sed «wel, av nevar sīn eni grō-in aför, bud av kuars a no wod ði ar. ðar srimps.»

sụm Adlith foks wons went to Lụndụn. won dễ ởi git i Madəm Tusốdz ən won on əm kod Out sed gud mornin tu ə waks bobi. oụd Tụm S— wər grêdli əmjust əd ðad ən kod-did im ə bit. bụd dzust af tər, ởi wər egzaminin sụm figərz ə wimin əz ed numbərz əd ðar fit, ō bụd won. S— fiftid ər skärts, bụd ĩ wər sərpräst wen u dzumpt up ən sed «oū dɔr jū.» đen id wer Outs tộrn tə laf ən ī sed «ðīər Tum, ðär dụn ðis tām. sụm on jə s sə g—d—fôs.»

a pårsn wons went a sī-in a koliar az war dī-in. Dis koliar war a greīt pidzam fluear an wen (t)pårsn bigun a tökin aböt evn id mēd im þiyk aböt (t) þendzalz wi wiygz az īd sin (t) piktfarz on. ī törnt rönd an sed ta (t)pårsn «fal ā ev wiyyz, pårsn, wen a ga ta evn?» «jis» sed(t) pårsn «an wil jö e wiygz, tu,

There was a good laugh when he had finished that, and that made him tell another. He said some of the new Horwichers once caught an old Horwicher not far from the «Crown» (they were wild you know and went about on their hands and knees). They reared him up against a wall, and what did he do but begin a pawing the air with his hands, and said «What must I do with these?»

There was a new Horwicher there, who had said nothing all this time, but he thought it was about his turn to put a word in. He said some new Horwichers were once going through the Crown fields, where there was some barley growing. They didn't know what it was and fetched a friend that lived at Manchester and knew everything. He said «Well, I've never seen any growing before, but of course I know what they are. They are shrimps.»

Some Adlington folks once went to London. One day they got in Madame Tussauds, and one of them called Holt said «Good morning» to a wax bobby. Old Tom S—, was much amused at that and codded (teased) him a bit. But just after they were examining some figures of women, that had numbers at their feet, all but one. S— shifted her skirts, but he was surprised when she jumped up and said «How dare you!» Then it was Holt's turn to laugh and he said «There Tom, you are done this time; some of you are so G— d— smart.»

A parson once went a seeing a collier who was dying. This collier was a great pigeon-flyer, and when the parson began a talking about heaven he made him think about the angels with wings, of which he had seen pictures. He turned round and said to the parson «Shall I have wings, parson, when I go to heaven?» «Yes» said the parson

wen jö ged ðiðr.» «jis a sal» sed (t) pürsn, «wel al tel jð wod», sed (t) pidzən-släeðr, «wen jð ged ðiðr al slä jð sovðrin.»

### II.

## Come whoam to thy childer an me (Waugh).

Av dzust mendid (t) faiər wi ə kob, oud Swadt oz brout di nju fun; dars sum nas bekn kolaps o (t) pob, an a kwärt a hel posit i (t) bun: av brout di top kust; dus (t) no. for (t) renz kumin den veri dri1; on (t) barb-ston'z oz wat oz nju sno, kum wum to di tfilder en me. wen a pud litt Sali to bed. u krad köz ər fedər wərn(d) diər; so a kist (t) litl pipg on a sed, dad bring or a ribin fru (t) for; an a giv ar ar dol an sum rajaz, on o nas litt wat kotn bo; on a kist or ogen; bud u sed, oz u wantid to kis di on o. on Dik tu, ad sutf wärk wi im, ofuer a ked ged im up (t) sterz; da toud im dad bring im a drum, ī sed wen ī wər se-in iz prārz; den i lükt i mi fes, on i sed, «es (t) bogerts ten oud a mi dad?» en i krād til iz in wer kwāt red, ī lāeks ði sum wīl, dəz jon lad.

<sup>1</sup> See § 36. 1. e.

«and will you have wings too when you go there?» «Yes, I shall» said the parson. «Well, I'll tell you what», said the pigeon-flyer, «when you get there I'll fly you for a sovereign.»

#### II.

## Come home to your children and me.

I've just mended the fire with a cob,
Old Swaddle has brought your new shoes;
There are some nice bacon collops on the hob,
And a quart of ale posset in the oven;
I've brought your top-coat, do you know.
For the rain's coming down very dree;
And the hearth-stone's as white as new snow,
Come home to your children and me.

When I put little Sally to bed,
She cried 'cos her father wasn't there;
So I kissed the little thing and I said,
You'd bring her a ribbon from the fair;
And I gave her a doll and some rags,
And a nice little white cotton ball:
And I kissed her again; but she said,
That she wanted to kiss thee and all.

And Dick, too, I'd such work with him,
Before I could get him up stairs;
You told him, you'd bring him a drum,
He said when he was saying his prayers;
Then he looked in my face, and he said,
«Have the boggarts taken hold of my dad?»
And he cried till his eyes were quite red,
He likes you very well, does yon lad.

ot lyng lengh a gīt om lēd stil,
on a ārknt (t) foks fīt oz went bāe;
sō a aiərnt ō mi tluəz rīt wīl,
on a aygd əm o(t) mēdn¹ tə drāe;
wen ad mendid ði stokinz ən färts,
a sīt dēn tə nit i mi tfiər;
on a rēli did fīl rēdər ort, —
mon, am lönli² wen ðē arnd ðīər.

av ə drum ən ə trumpit fər Dik;
av ə jārd ə bla ribin fər Sal;
av ə buk ful ə babiz ən ə stik,
ən sum bakə ən pāps fər mi sel;
av brout di sum kofi ən tē —
iv dal fil i mi pokit, dal sī;
ən av brout di ə nju kjap tə-dē —
bud a öləz briygz sumət fər dī.

god bles ði mi las; al gə wum,
ən al kis ðī ən (t) tfildər ō rēnd;
ða nōz əz wərevər a rōm,
am fēn tə ged bak tə (t) poūd grēnd;
a kən du wi ə krajk ōr ə dlas,
a kən du wi ə bit əv ə sprī;
bud av nō grēdli³ kumfərt, mi las,
eksep wi jon tfildər ən ðī.

 $<sup>1</sup> m\bar{e}dn =$  'clothes horse'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Waugh has onely. See § 63: 1. d. Note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See § 43. 1. e.

At the long length I got them laid still,
And I hearkened the folk's feet, that went by;
So I ironed all my clothes right well,
And I hanged them on the maiden to dry;
When I'd mended your stockings and shirts,
I sat down to knit in my chair;
And I really did feel rather hurt, —
Man, I'm lonely when you are not there.

I've a drum and a trumpet for Dick;
I've a yard of blue ribbon for Sal;
I've a book full of babies and a stick,
And some tobacco and pipes for myself;
I've brought you some coffee and tea, —
If you'll feel in my pocket, you'll see;
And I've brought you a new cap today, —
But I always bring something for thee.

God bless you, my lass; I'll go home,
And I'll kiss you and the children all round;
You know that wherever I roam,
I'm glad to get back to the old ground;
I can do with a crack over a glass,
I can do with a bit of a spree;
But I've no real comfort, my lass,
Except with yon children and thee.

## III.

## Dzon Węker.

Dzon Wōkər livd ə(t) top (ə) Boyk, on kept ə lot u duks, on egz ði wər sə plentiful, ī pālt əm up i ruks.

Dāon Wēkər ed ə lit-tl lad, ən ī wər grēdli noūt; ī bīt im vär-ri il won nīt, ən ī pord im intə (t) foūt.

Dzon Wökər ed ə lit-tl dog, m id went öf id nut; ī kopt id bī id indər leg, ən wärlt id intə (t) kut.

Dzon Wękar läckt a bit a spuart, wi eðar fif ar brid; i fot ad a pidzan a(t) þelifunt swip, an kilt a kē at stid.

Dzon Wōkər went tə Grasmiər spuərts.
tə hev ə dü wi Tlärk;
ði pūd ðər dzakits ən weskuts ōf,
ən buəþ went up tə(t) märk.

Dzon Wēkər ī gīt oūd ə Tlürk, ən Tlürk gīt oūd əv im; 
ðī pūd won ənuðer əbēt ə bit, 
til (t) tōn on əm givin.

Djon Wökər sed id wərnd ə du, ən öid ev tə hev ənuðər; ən Tlärk ī sed «ö rīt oūd mon, ən öā kən fotf ði bruðər.»

## III. John Walker.

John Walker lived at top of the «Bonk», And kept a lot of ducks, And eggs they were so plentiful, He piled them up in rucks.

John Walker had a little lad, And he was really naughty; He beat him very ill one night, And he kicked him into the fold.

John Walker had a little dog,
And it went off its nut (head);
He caught it by its hind leg,
And whirled it into the cut (canal).

John Walker liked a bit of sport,
With either fish or bird;
He shot at a pigeon at the «Elephant» sweep,
And killed a cow instead.

John Walker went to Grasmere sports.

To have a do with «Clark»;

They pulled their jackets and waistcoats off,

And both went up to the mark.

John Walker he got hold of Clark,
And Clark got hold of him;
They pulled one another about a bit,
Till the one of them gave in.

John Walker said it wasn't a do, And they 'd have to have another; And Clark he said «All right old man, And you can fetch your brother». Dzon Wökər ed ə lit-tl fårm,
ən ī gīt vär-ri oud;
ī gīt ə bit bi-int wi(t) rent,
ən ō iz guds wər soud.

Doon Woker git iz läeknes ten, bi a tfap a(t) nem a Rīd; en wen ī gīt a dlent on id, ī tāk iz bed ən dīd.

Doon Woker laskt o sop o dripk, on wod i supt wor rum, i went to(t) Bor won setorti net, on di ed to dad im wum.

Doon Woker went to so oud T.

went to ged a pou;

oud T. I pud id up bi(t) ruts,

m den dor wor a rou.

Doon Woker git up oft a ther, on realft is sel a strop; i peald oud T. of or (t) frunt ples, til i war fit to drop.

wen oud Tiz waf kum into (t) sop, i wor o wori sit; iz jed wor led ot (t) top o(t) pes, on u pud im et bi(t) fit.

John Walker had a little farm, And he got very old; He got a bit behind with the rent, And all his goods were sold.

John Walker got his likeness taken, By a chap with the name of Reed; And when he got a peep at it, He took his bed and died.

John Walker liked a drop of drink, And what he drank was rum; He went to the «Bear» one Saturday night, And they had to help him home.

John Walker went to see old T.,
He went to get a crop;
Old T., he pulled it up by the roots,
And then there was a row.

John Walker got up out of the chair, And reached himself a strop; He knocked old T., all over the place, Till he was fit to drop.

When old T.'s wife came into the shop, He was a weary sight; His head was laid on top of the ashes, And she pulled him out by the feet. Larl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung in Zeidelberg.

# Geschichte der neuern Philosophie

## von Runo Sischer.

Jubilaumsausnabe in gehn Banden.

I. Band: Descartes' Ceben, Werke und Cehre. 4. neu bearbeitete Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 11 .-. fein Salbfranzband M. 13 .-.

II. Band: Spinozas Ceben, Werke und Cehre. 4. neu bearbeitete Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 14.—, fein Salbfranzband M. 16.—.

III. Band: Leibniz' Leben, Werke und Lehre. 4. Auflage. gr. 8°. heftet M. 18.—, fein Galbfranzband M. 20.—.

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gr. 80. geheftet M. 18 .-, fein Galbfranzband M. 20 .-

VII. Band: Schellings Ceben, Werke und Cehre. 3. durchgesehene und vermehrte Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 22.-, fein Balbfranzband 117. 24.-

VIII. Band: Begels Ceben, Werke und Cehre. 2 Teile mit dem Bilde des Derfaffers in Beliogravure, gr. 8°. geheftet In. 30.-, in zwei feinen Salbfrangbänden M. 34.-

IX. Band: Schopenhauers Leben, Werke und Cehre. 2. neu bearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 14.-, fein Balbfranzband M. 16 .-.

X. Band: Bacon. 3. Auflage. In Vorbereitung.

In der "Deutschen Revue" schreibt Ch. Wiedemann in seinen "Sechzehn Jahre in der Werkstatt Leopold von Rankes": "Ranke suchte nach anderweitiger und anders gearbeiteter Belehrung. In Beziehung auf die Geschichte der neuern Philosophie zog er allen anderen bei weitem das Werk von Kuno Kischer vor, dem er Geistesreichtum und kongeniale Reproduktion der verschiedenen Systeme nachrühmte."

.... Was Runo Sifchers Schriften und Vortrage fo intereffant macht, das ift das wahrhaft dramatische Leben, welches beide durchdringt, die innere Srifche und geistige Elastizität, welche beide auszeichnet. . . Das Werk gehört nicht nur in die Bibliothek des Sachmannes, sondern ift dazu berufen, als eines der besten Bildungsmittel allen denen zu dienen, die den höchsten Aufgaben und idealen Interessen der gangen Menschheit ihre Aufmerksamheit zu widmen im (Gegenwart.)

"... Sifchers Eigentumlichkeit besteht in einer sonst fast nirgends erreichten Runft, eine fremde Gedankenwelt von ihrem eigenen Mittelpunkt aus zu erleben und den Lefer in der denkbar durchsichtigsten und eindringlichsten Sorm erleben zu lassen. . . Kuno Sischer steht nie als überlegener, verbessernder Schulmeister hinter den dargestellten Philosophen. Dieser Geschichtschreiber läßt nicht seine Philosophen reden, sondern sie reden selbst. Sie tragen ihre eigenen Gedanken vor, nur freier, natürlicher, in einer lebhasteren, durchsichtigeren Sprache, als wir fie in ihren eigenen Werken finden, und weit fester als in ihren eigenen Werken haben fie den Zielpunkt ihrer Gedanken vor Augen. Aber diese Gedanken find dennoch niemals verändert, niemals verschönt und niemals verbildet. Sie find das in der Sorm gereinigte, im Gehalte völlig getreue Machbild des Originaldenkers. Diese Kunst der Darstellung ist ebenso neu als notwendig. . . . Wahrlich, wer die Entwicklung des theoretischen Geistes von Descartes' bis zu Kants großen Nachfolgern zum Objekt zu machen imstande war, der hat ein schöpferisches Werk vollbracht. . . . . " (Preußische Jahrbücher.)

## 

Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung in Zeidelberg.

## Dr. Arthur Drews

a. o. Professor der Philasophie an der Technischen hochschule in Harlsrube:

# Eduard von Zartmanns philosophisches System im Grundriß.

Mit biographischer Einleitung und dem Bilde Bartmanns.

gr. 8°. geheftet 16 M., fein Salbfranzband 18 M.

... Wer dieses Unch gelesen hat, wird einen vollständigeren und besseren überblick über meine Ohilosophie als durch die Cektüre eines meiner Gauptwerke erhalten haben und dann in der Cage sein, jedes Werk von mir über das Sondorgebiet, auf das sein persönliches Interesse gerichtet ist, dem Jusannenhang meines Systems richtig einzugliedern.

(Chuard von Bartmann in Deutschland Ir. 1 vom Oftober 1902.)

5, 87 13 5 2 3

. Beufener hierzu konnte kaum ein anderer fein als der Karlsruher Philosoph Drews, der außer einer eininent lichtvollen Entwicklung des Spiens Eduard v. Hartnams in einer biographischen Einseitung in geradezu klassischen Diktion in die Gedankenweite des einsamen Metaphissische rieführt. Kürche niemand eine ichwer verständliche Paraphrase eines Turchachgelehrten, eine zunigemäße Unahrtides Aufbederphisosophen für den engen Ureis der Verufsaenossen. Drews schreibt, in wohltuender Klasseit und souweräner Veherrichung eines für den Laien kaum noch zu überschenden gewaltigen Stoffes, für die große Masse der Gebilderen, er ift populär im edelsten Sinne des Wortes und versieht troß der Sprödigkeit, die philosophischen Materien nun einmal anzuhaften psiegt, so schiedn zu ichreiben, daß er den Leser unwilksutlich gekangen ninmt und nit sich fortreigt. (Leipziger Tagblatt.)

Soeben erschien:

# Friedrich Mietssches Philosophie.

gr. 80. geheftet 10 M., fein Salbfrangband 12 M.

Das Buch ift die erste wissenschaftlich-fritische, das ganze System umfassende, dabei für jeden Gebildeten verständliche Darstellung von Nietziches Leben und Lehre.

## Sofrat Dr. Max Dreffler

Großb. Sofarit:

# Vorlesungen über Psychologie

gehalten im Sover des Großherzoglichen Softheaters in Rarlsruhe.

gr. 80. geheftet 3.60 M., in fein Leinwandband 4.50 M.

. Das ganze Buch in seiner Inhalts und hormenschöne ist dazu berufen, als eines der besten Bildungsmittel allen denen zu dienen, die den hohen Aufgaben unserer Seele und ihren riefsten Tiefen nachzusorlichen Interesse entgegenbringen, . Sein Bemühen, das Beste in angenehnter horn zu bieten, ift dem Verfasser treesslich gelungen, so daß wir dem empfehlenswerten Buche recht viel verständnisvolle Ceser von Herzen würschen. Wenn dieser unser Wunsch in Erfüllung ginge, so würde das einen geistigen hortschritt unserer ganzen Zeit bedeuten.

Soeben erschien:

# Die Welt als Wille zum Selbst.

Line philosophische Studie.

gr. 8°. geheftet 3 111.

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Soeben erichien:

Runo Sischer,

## 851093 Goethes gaust.

3. Band: Die Erklarung des Goetheschen gaust nach der Reihenfolge seiner Szenen. Erster Teil.

(Goethe-Schriften 8.) 80. geheftet 7 IMF., fein Leinwandband 8 IMF.

Der 1. und 2. Band dieses klassischen Werkes liegen bereits in 4. Auflage vor. Einen noch gröheren Erfolg wird der soeben erschienen 3. Band haben, melder den Gang des ersten Ceiles der Sausttragodie erklarend ichildert, und der Ende 1903 erscheinende 4. Band, der den Gang des zweiten

Teiles der Tragodie behandeln soll.
... In seiner Gesamtheit stellt fich Sischers Werk als eine in die Urtiefen der Saust-Dicktung deinarde erlanterung dar, welche deren genigen Gebalt, soweit es nachanden.

vermag, erloopet. Wie kein anderer bringt Rund Sicher zur Erklarung dieser philosophichstein, tienunugten und erhabensten Schöpfung deutscher Poese das wissenschaftliche Rüstzeug und die kongeniale Gestesent mit. Iede Phase der wechselvollen Geschichte der Lebensichtung Goethes wird ins durch ihn wieder agenwartig, überall späit er mit intuitivem Blid die gehetmsten Jufammendange aus. In jede Siene des Gedichtes versenkt er ich mit gleich liebevollem Verkändnis; jeder Stimmung und Conart, vom übermätigsten kumor die zur erschütternössen Tergik, weiß er zu sozien, allen poetischen Verten, die Goethe hier in zu übermätigsener Sille geschässen, wird er gerecht. Und überall entspricht sein erleuchtendes Wort seiner großen Ausgade, überall erreicht es in seiner Kraft und Anischaulichkeit die geistige und künstlerische Köhe der Dichtung. Ohne jemals den Schmelz der poesse abzustreisen, münzt er den Edelgehalt des Gedichtes und seit ihn in sein gleichwertzger Sorm aus der anischaufichen Sphäre in die begriffliche um. Man muß sich an Dünniger erinnern, um ermessen zu der anischaufichen Sphäre in die begriffliche um. Man muß sich an Dünniger erinnern, um ermessen zu der anzeist, zu Käckerling wird, der bei allem Suchen nur Regenwichner sindet, hier der Schalzgräber, der keinen Spatenstich lut, ohne Gold ans Tageslicht zu sordern nur Kagenwichner findet, hier der Schalzgräber, der keinen Spatenstich lut, ohne Gold ans Tageslicht zu sordern — was ein Werk wie Goethes "Saust", das die Summen der Errungenschaften nicht nur des reichsten Einsellebens, sondern der gangen Menschalt zieht, vor allem von seinem Erkläten vollagen in der ihner Weldere siehen von seinen Erkläten vollagen in der der under der Errungenschaften nicht nur erkläten den einer Welders den höchsten einsellebens, sondern der gangen Menschaft mitche der Krankfurter Zeitung.)

Erine tiesen Gedanken, voll Schänheit und Erleuchungskraft, wirken wie eine Ossenschause. Diditung dringende Erlauterung dar, welche deren gemigen Gebalt, joweit es nachidaffendes Denken

(br. Ernst Traumann in der Frankfurter Zeitung.)
Seine tiesen Gedanken, voll Schönheit und Erleuchtungskraft, wirken wie eine Gisenbarung. Iede Phase der Dichtung wird durch die eindringenichte Kenntnis des Lebensganges Goethes erheltt und so der Dichter selbit zum unerschöpflichen Chema seines größten Werkes gemacht. . Er werd unter allen vorhandenen Sauftkommentaren den erfen Kang sich erringen und behaupten. Wer diesem Sührer zu solgen wagt, dem erschließt sich die Welt des größten Dichters ohne Aest und ohne Vorbehalt. Mit einer wunderbaren Sprachzewalt und einer Julie reiser Lebensweisheit wird ihm in ihr eine geweihte Stätte edelsen Genusies bereitet. Die stille Macht des Goetheschen Genius wächst von Cag zu Tag. Unter denen, die die Stunde seines höchsten Auhmes wit heraussichten helsen, siecht in erster Reihe zu und 5 is der, der die vollendete Vildung zur Einfalt und Einheit der Natur in Goetheschem Sunne zurückzeführt hat. .

(Prof. Dr. U. Koch in der Kölnischen Zeitung.)

Nur ein kongenialer Geift konnte viesen Sutskommentar schreiben. Seiner aanzen

... Nur ein kongenialer Geift konnte diesen Saustkommentar schreiben. Seiner ganzen Geistesart nach war Sischer zum Saustkommentator geradezu prädestiniert. Nicht nur, daß er wie wenige neben ihm die geistige Welt des Goetheichen Jahrhunderts beherricht, nicht nur, daß er Philosoph und Literaturhistoriker zugleich ist, daß er die Gabe der Darstellung in ungewöhnlichem Nache besitzt, vor allem hat er sich in Gethes innerstes Wesen und Dichten so versenkt, daß er die geheimsten Wegungen des Dichters nachsühlt und so aus dem inneren Leben Goethes die Dichtung vor uns ente Regungen des Dichteis nachfühlt und so aus dem inneren Leben Goethes die Dichtung vor uns einenehen läst, so daß wir nicht Saust verstehen lernen, sondern im Saust Goethe . . Die Erklärungstunst erreicht in diesem Bande eine Köhe, die nicht überboten werden kann. Der gange Jauber Goetheschese Deosie, die Liese seiner philosophischen Oden, der absolute Wert dieser Menschheiter posie, das echt Menschliche in ihr, und die tiese Tragist, die Sülle schoner Einzelheiten – alles kommt vollendet zur Daritellung. Die Charaktere treten so plastisch hervor, daß jeder Schauspieler an dieser Charakterische Menschliche und dabei drängt der Kommentator sich nie bervor, sondern er gibt eben nichts als die Goetheichen Gedanken selbst. Wer sich der Keltstie diese Kommentates hingibt, wird elwas von dem gestigen Stuidum verspüren, das bei der Verührung mit einem bedeutenden, genialen Manne, erhebend und krästigend, auf uns übergest, etwas von jener inneren Ergrifsenheit spüren, die se und se eine große gestige Krast in uns auslöst. Und darum nannten wir diesen Kommentar ein literarisches Ereignis ersten Aanges.

(Prof. Dr. Alchert in der Neuen Preuß. [Kreuz-]Zeitung.)

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